UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

A STUDY OF ELIZABETHAN SHIP MONEY 1588-1603

ADA HAESELER LEWIS

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
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A STUDY OF ELIZABETHAN SHIP MONEY (1588-1603)

I

England's Problem of Defense by Sea

The protest of John Hampden in 1637 against the levy of ship money was directed against an extended and abused form of a very old English practice. Nor was the extension and change in "ship money" a sudden development of Stuart tyranny. Rather it was a climax, accelerated by Charles' exigencies, to changes already noticeable in the long years of Elizabeth's reign.

Early Examples of Uncompensated Ship Levies

The problem of defense by sea has always been an important one with England, and since, before the time of Henry VII there had been little or no permanent royal navy, the need had been met by various devices as occasion demanded.[1] The commonest method was to commandeer ships temporarily from the merchant fleets. Many of the ship owners were paid for their services out of the royal treasury; but others were supplied at the cost of such groups as the Cinque Ports, or of a single important town, conspicuously London. In 1305 a petition of the town of Dunwich to Parliament asking for an allowance to be made for ten ships with their crews valued at £1,000 "lost to the town in the king's wars",[2] shows the use of merchant ships for active naval service. The fleet which took Edward III and his forces to France was composed of 25 ships belonging to the king, 25 from London, and varying quotas from 68 separate ports. The sum totals, according to a document of the Cottonian Collection, were enormous for that time; the Southern fleet being quoted as 493 ships, the Northern fleet as 217.[3] The size of the ships, however, was of course very small.

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[1] Oppenheim—*Adm. of the Royal Navy.* passim.
[2] H. Hall—*Customs*, II, p. 19.
[3] *Cott. MSS. Julius C IV.* 93ff. (An 34 Ed. III, March 6.) fr. Book, "*Defense of Invasion*".

Edward IV seems to have obtained "a voluntarye aide of shippes . . . . by the commons of the Land to kepe the Seas at theire owne charges for halfe a yeare".[4] Usually, however, the ships were granted not by Parliament but locally by various towns upon request from the King or Privy Council. It was this last custom that grew by usage and expanding needs into the ship money quarrel of Charles' reign.

In 1454, for instance, London was asked for ships for the defense of Calais, to which the merchants replied that the shipping was bad and that they could ill afford the expense, but that they were willing to take as much burden upon themselves as the rest of the kingdom assumed.[5] In 1457, a record occurs of an assessment of 3/15ths in the City of London for ships to meet the French fleet. The total amount is given as £1,898, 6 s., 1-½d.[6] A third time, in 1462, the city records show an assessment for ships, this time of 300 marks levied upon the twelve great Livery Companies[7].

A proclamation of Philip and Mary's reign stated that the King and Queen had been informed that "many . . . . lovyng fayth-full and obedyent subiects inhabytyng upon the sea coste and usying traffyckgni by sea and dyverse others be verry disyerous to prepare and equyppe . . . . shipps and vessells at theire owne coste and charge to the sea for the annoyance of there maiestyes enemyes the ffrenchyemen" and that in recompense for such service these volunteers need only to pay the petty fees at the ports and would be excused from the crown's customs.[8] This proclamation immediately preceding Elizabeth's reign dealt rather with privateers than with forced levies of any kind; still it is of interest as showing the crown's use of available merchant craft in its naval warfare.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, then, there existed numerous precedents for demands by the crown for local aid in supplying ships. But except from the Cinque Ports, the

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[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Journal 5 of the Common Council of the City of London*, fol. 152, 152–B.
[6] *Jor.* 6, fol. 174–B.
[7] *Jor.* 7, fol. 9–B.
[8] *Jor.* 17, fol. 35.

charter rights of which guaranteed them compensating privileges, this aid had usually been granted grudgingly. The demand had not been made frequently, and the localities had been restricted to London and the chief port towns.

This situation continued through the early years of Elizabeth's reign until the Spanish Armada necessitated extraordinary measures of defense. The Rebellion of the North, in 1570, seems to have called out ships from Hull and Scarborough to act with the Queen's ships, but it is not certain that they were at the town's expense.[9] In 1572 Lane made a proposition to Burghley that the Queen should force service by proclamation from privately owned ships to keep the trade routes clear.[10] This particular proposal does not seem to have been carried out, but similar aid was later asked by the Queen against pirates. In 1576, the Privy Council sent a letter to the Lord Mayor of London requesting a "collection to be made for payment of the charge defraid for the settinge out and manninge of 2 shippes to the seas . . .".[11] On the 4th of October the London City Council ordered "that Sir James harrys knight . . . shall assesse all suche merchaunts as doe use any maner of trade or traffyque into Spayne ffraunce and Barbary to be contrybutors towards the chardges lately dysbursed in the furnyshinge and settynge forthe of twoe of the Quenes majesties shipps lately appoynted for the defence and savegarde of the marchaunts tradyinge into the partes aforesayde."[12] In 1581, the Cinque Ports were commanded by warrant to perform a like duty. Their Lord Warden was "to cause to be furnished such ships or barks (within the precincts of your Rule of the cinque ports) as you shall think sufficient for the purpose, and the same armed and manned to cause from tyme to tyme to be sett fourth to the Seas . . . . for the apprehension of such aforesaid offendors or pirates."[13]

A Spanish scare in 1574 had before this brought a letter

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[9] *State Papers Dom. Eliz. Add.* XVII–2.
[10] *S. P. D. E. Add.* XXI–79.
[11] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1575–77, p. 210.
[12] *Rep. 19 of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London*, f. 125–B.
[13] *S. P. D. E.* CL–41.

from the Privy Council to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports to have his ships in readiness[14] but such orders to the Cinque Ports can not be considered as on the same plane with requests for ships from London or any other locality in the realm. The special charter of the Cinque Ports given by Edward I. and subsequently maintained and enlarged by following rulers, provided that these ports of Hastings, Winchelsea, Rye, Dover and Sandwich should be "free of all aides, subsidies Contribucons Tallags and Scotts whatsoever they be which from them . . . . by us or our heires . . . . shall or may be asked" in return for which privileges "the saide barons and theire heires shall make to Us and to our heires Kings of Englande theire full service of ffytfie and seven shipps at their charges by 15 daies at the warninge of us and of our heires."[15] Because of this arrangement, the Cinque Ports were generally the first to be called upon for ships to aid the crown, and usually performed the duty with a fair degree of willingness.

By the time Elizabeth came to the throne the importance of the duty performed by the Cinque Ports was very greatly diminished. Their main work under Elizabeth's government seems to have been that of keeping the Narrow Seas free from pirates. In August of 1587 the Queen wrote sharply to Cobham, then Warden of the Cinque Ports, that in view of the large privileges which the Cinque Ports enjoyed, it was their duty to "employ themselves for the defence of our sea coasts uppon our narrow seas, or to take revenge of the spoyles dun by those of the said Town of Dunkirk", and that unless they made some offer to "employ themselves hereafter for the defence of the said coasts" she, the Queen, did "not mean to suffer them in such a faithless manner to enjoy their said priveledges . . .".[16] The upshot was that certain articles and conditions were sent by the Lords of the Privy Council to the Cinque Ports guaranteeing to their ships certain rights to prizes and goods taken from the pirates,

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[14] *A. of P. C.*, 1571–75, p. 290.

[15] *S. P. D. E.* CXXVIII, 1. (MSS. of Inspeximus Charter of 2 Ed. VI, 20th of Nov., 1548, reciting the Cinque Ports Charters for 6 Ed. I., June 27, 1278.)

[16] *Lansdowne MSS.* XCIV–36.

and providing that each ship sent out should be bonded against committing any act of piracy.[17] When this arrangement was completed, the Ports sent out 13 ships (5 from Dover, 4 from Sandwich, 2 from Rye, and 1 each from Feversham and Hyde)[18] and the Queen herself, 3 ships, and 3 pinnaces.[19] In November of 1588, this service was still maintained by the Ports, at a monthly cost, according to Cobham in a letter to Burghley, of £778, 4 d. for victuals and wages without considering necessary repairs to the ships. His letter desired to "knowe her majesties resolute pleasure whether she meaneth to use their service . . . . or otherwyse that they may have leave to followe their wanted and lawfull trades . . .".[20]

Under Edward I, the Cinque Ports owned the greater part of the available shipping in the realm. Under Elizabeth, these ports had decayed; other ports had outstripped them; London's commerce had grown amazingly; and there was a fleet of men-of-war built and maintained by the crown and kept approximately ready for service. The entire marine force at any time during Elizabeth's reign, then, consisted of these royal ships, of a quota from the Cinque Ports, of the privately owned merchant shipping which entered into the paid service of the crown, and of such levies of merchant ships as the crown could successfully command various localities to provide and equip at their own expense.

The Elizabethan Royal Navy

The Queen's own ships numbered, in 1559, 22 effective ships of 100 tons and upwards, with additional smaller craft that brought the total up to 32 or 35.[21] During Elizabeth's reign the fleet was increased by new ships built under royal instructions, and by 1603, there were 29 men-of-war of over 100 tons.[22] The administration of the royal navy was conducted by the Queen and Privy Council acting largely through the Lord Admiral and the naval treasurer.

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[17] *S. P. D. E.* CCIII; 51–I, II (Sept. 25, 1587).
[18] *Ibid.*, 51–III.
[19] *Ibid.*, CCXVIII, 20.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 119–20–21.

Parliament, beyond passing and repealing navigation acts, and formulating regulations for the fishing trade,[23] took no part in marine affairs, and naval expenditures were met by crown warrants on the treasury. These expenditures included not only the upkeep of the ships, but also ammunition, men and victualling. In time of war, the navy's expense was further augmented by the tonnage fee paid to merchant ships in service, and by the increased personnel. During the relatively passive years from 1567 to 1571 the ordinary warrant for the navy, granted annually, was £7,695, 6 s., 2 d. This was regularly supplemented by additional warrants which brought the total expense up to about £10,946 yearly.[24] The burden for naval expenditure in the year of the Armada was stupendous, totalling £112,000, exclusive of victualling.[25] The allowance for victualling by the contract held by Sir James Quarles was 7 d. per man per day when at sea, 6½ d. when in harbor, a budget within which he found difficult to keep.[26] It is small wonder that Burghley wrote on the 19th of July to Walsingham that he had "had conference with Palavacino and with Saltonstall how forty or fifty thousand pounds might be had for 10%."[27] The Armada year saw the high water mark of naval expenditure under Elizabeth. After the immediate danger was past, the additional expenses, which had so swelled the grand total for 1588, in large part ceased. Nevertheless, a policy of moderate naval expansion was maintained for the subsequent years of the reign, and the annual warrant was steadily increased over the amount that had been deemed necessary in the years before 1588. In 1590, the annual warrant on the exchequer was increased to £8,973, 12 s., 10 d., inasmuch as the old appropriation was no longer sufficient, ". . . by reason our Navy is greatly increased by the makinge of Sundrye newe shippes and pinnaces more than ever heretofore have bene."[28] These new ships were built under contracts that provided for

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[23] *Statutes of the Realm*, 8 Eliz. C, 13; 39 Eliz. C, 10.
[24] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 160ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 160ff. Murdin's account.
[26] Laughton K., *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, I, p. 52. (*S. P. D. E.* CCVIII–35.)
[27] *Ibid.*, I, p. 284 (*S. P. D. E.* CCXII–66).
[28] *Cott. MSS. Otho.* E. IX, 242–B.

the "knowledge, advice and direction . . . of . . . the lord admirall and the officers of the navie" in their construction.[29] In 1595 the policy of naval expansion caused the ordinary warrant of £8,973, 12 s., 10 d. to be supplemented by additional warrants amounting to £8,369, 6 s., 0 d. a total for the year of £17,342, 18 s., 10 d.[30] In 1599, the ordinary warrant was increased to £11,000.[31]

Merchant Shipping as Supplementary to the Royal Navy

Despite the growing importance of the navy in the strict sense of men-of-war owned and maintained by the crown, the merchant shipping of the realm still was considered as a necessary adjunct to the royal forces, to be held in readiness to render paid service upon demand. The amounts needed by the crown for this service were included in the general naval expenses.

The merchant fleet thus at any moment might become an important means of warfare, and in order to insure its readiness for use, the crown took measures to protect and encourage ship building, to inform itself of the number and value of accessible ships, and to keep the ships in the harbors when it considered that a possible naval emergency threatened. Interest in the shipping was general. The contemporary literature reflects the national pride in the navy. Parliament passed considerable protective legislation to insure adequate ships. John Coke, Clerk of the Staple of Westminster, wrote as early as 1549 an elaborately conceived debate, supposedly between a French and English herald, for the sole purpose of exalting the English navy.[32] In 1599 "general considerations for the need of the navie" were delivered to parliament.[33] One part of a "*Discourse on Corporations*" (printed 1587 or 89) sets forth the necessity of keeping up the navy and the effect of the closed trading companies on

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[29] *Ibid.*, E. IX, 357.
[30] *Ibid.*, E. IX, 273.
[31] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 160ff.
[32] Coke, John, *Debate between the Heralds of England and France.* Published in *Le debat des herauts d'armes de France et d'angleterre.*
[33] Tawney, *Ec. Doc.* I, p. 326, reprint.

shipping.[34] Actual protective legislation was passed in the first, fifth, thirteenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, and thirty-ninth years of Elizabeth's reign, by which the fishing trade was stimulated, exporting in English vessels encouraged, and ship building rewarded.[35] Whether or not the fishing industry really benefited by this legislation is hard to determine. At least a certificate of 1576 states that there had been an increase of fishing boats since the statute making Wednesday a fish day had been passed.[36]

A far more important reason for the trebling[37] during Elizabeth's reign of the value of the merchant shipping lay in the government bounty of 5 s. a ton allowed to builders for ships of 100 tons and upwards.[38] By legislation the bounty was given as a tally on the customs, often at the port of London,[39] and the recipient was bound over not to sell his ship to any foreigner.[40] The latter part of Elizabeth's reign saw the bounty a well established custom, involving considerable sums. In the records for the years 1591–94 such entries are very frequent.[41] A full account appears of the reward given to Richard Chapman for the building of the *Dainty of London* (November 1591);[42] a note of a tally on customs at the port of London for 470 crowns to 3 ship builders for 2 new ships;[43] a list, in November 1594, of 46 ships built since 1581 "with her majesty's allowance of 5 s. a ton" which totalled £2,623, 5 s.[44] The western ports contributing to this number included Plymouth, Barnstaple, Lymehouse, Dartmouth, Fowey, Topham and Exmouth.[45] By 1597, 579 ships qualified for the bounty in the shape of warrants on the customs of London.[46] The Queen was very jealous of

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[34] *Ibid.*, III, p. 273.
[35] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 167ff; *S. P. D. E.* XXVIII, 12, 17.
[36] Tawney, *op. cit.*, II, p. 122. (*S.P. D. E.* CVII, 67.)
[37] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 167ff.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 132ff., 167; *C. S. P. D.*, 1595–97, p. 392.
[39] *C. S. P. D.*, 1591–94, pp. 525, 529, 536 etc. (23 Eliz.).
[40] *S. P. D. E.* CCLXIX, 5.
[41] *C. S. P. D.*, 1591–94 passim.
[42] *S. P. D. E.* CCXL, 74.
[43] *Ibid., Cal.*, 1591–94, p. 525.
[44] *Ibid., Cal.*, 1591–94, p. 563.
[45] *S. P. D. E.* CCL, 33.
[46] *C. S. P. D.*, 1595–97, p. 398 (docquet).

her ships and in the very first year of her reign forbade by proclamation the sale of ships of any size to anybody born or dwelling outside her dominions.[47]

The government frequently demanded from the local officials, usually from the constable or lieutenant of the county, certificates of the shipping in each separate port, including the number of ships and their tonnage, and sometimes, also, the number of trained mariners and captains.[48] At first this demand was more or less irregular, called forth most often by a particular emergency, but by the end of the reign, it had become part of the ordinary annual routine. From these certificates the Lord Admiral and Queen's Council obtained a relatively precise idea of the naval possibilities of the country. Thus, upon the Queen's accession, her officers compiled a "Boke for Sea Causes" or "A declaracon of arr Navie, which may be made as well of the Quenes majestie owne Ships and Barkes as of her Subiects Shipps and barkes with an Estimate of the chardges that will growe upon the same." After estimating the Queen's ships as 22 in active condition with a supplementary list of 10 needing repair, the report discusses "marchant shipes whiche may be put in fashion of war", of which "ther is to be hadde XLV Inglishe marchant ships which may be put in order of warr."[49] In 1563 a certificate was sent up from the Cinque Ports which surveyed the record for the past 30 years in order to point out the great decrease in shipping that had befallen these ancient ports, a depression local to them, and the result of shifting harbors, not of lessened English commercial activity.[50] The Rebellion of the North in 1570 necessitated a more than usually extensive survey of the shipping, and certificates were sent up from almost every county.[51] In the year 1587, the ports were carefully combed for available ships and the existing certificates are almost complete.[52] After

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[47] *Jor.* 17, f. 146–B.
[48] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173, 176.
[49] *S. P. D. E.* III, 44.
[50] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 3.
[51] *Ibid.*, LXXI, 57–I; 64; 64–I; 74; 74–I; 75; 76. LXXXIII, 8; 8–I; 14; 15; 15–I; 27; 48 (General Summary of Shipping).
[52] *Ibid.*, CXCVIII, 5; 6; 8; 9; 10; 15; 16; 22; 23; 24; 47; 49; 82; 83. *Cott. MSS. Otho.* E. IX 160, 143.

the Armada year, the general policy of naval expansion strengthened the use of certificates from the ports, and they became practically annual.[53] Summary lists of the shipping of the whole realm are difficult to find, are rarely if ever complete, and vary in their totals one from the other. A list exists for 1571–72[54] and Oppenheim has compiled partial lists from the sources.[55] In the year 1577, there seem to have been about 177 ships of over 100 tons;[56] in 1588, about 183 of over 100 tons, 180 of between 100 tons and 80 tons, and 1,392 of less than 100 tons.[57] On the other hand a rather careful estimate made in 1583 numbers the merchant ships "meete to ioyne with herMajestie ships if neede requier" at 21, running in tonnage from 140 to 450 tons.[58]

In times of threatened danger the demand from the Privy Council for a certificate of shipping from any port or county was accompanied by an order forbidding any ships then in the harbors to sail. Such a general "staye of shippes" was made in 1570, and the reply of Lord Howard reporting to the Privy Council for the County of Dorset was typical. ". . . whereas, I have received lettres from your L. . . for the staye of all such shippes as be of the burden of thirtye tonnes and upwards, and also all manner of Maryners as do presently remaine, or hereafter shall arrive within the porte and crekes whereof I am viceadmyrall for her majesties Service. These ar to certifie your good L. that I haue accordingly accomplished the same . . . and as there be divers shippes and Maryners abrode in voyage belonging to my rule as viceadmyrall so as the same shall returne againe, I will not faile accordinge to my duty to make staye aswell thereof as of any other that shall arrive within the same accordinge to her Majesties' pleasure and your good L. order."[59] In the letter was enclosed a "Brief Boke" of the particulars of the men, ships, and tonnage. In 1587 the same precaution of "staying" virtually all the large ships in the realm was ordered.[60]

[53] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173; *C. S. P. D.* passim 1591.
[54] *C. S. P. D.* (1566–1579), *Add.* 22, p. 441.
[55] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173, 176.
[56] *Harleian MSS.* CLXVIII f. 248.
[57] *Cott. MSS. Otho.* E. IX, 162.
[58] *S. P. D. E.* CLX, 60.
[59] *Ibid.*, CXXI, 56; 56–I.
[60] *Ibid.*, CXCVIII passim; *cf.* above, footnote 51.

Again in January 1594, a "memorial of things to be done to put the Realm in proper defense" states that the "Lo. Admirall . . . is to consider of the nomber of the marchantes and subiectes shippes that be or maie be made fitt for men of war to accompanie her Majesties navie and to forsee that none of them be permitted to goe in anie longe voyadge to be absent owte of the Realme after the monethe of Maye."[61] A letter from the Privy Council to the Mayor of Chester in 1581, there being a need to transport 800 men to Ireland, ordered in more specific terms a like "stay". The orders read, "We . . . command you to make stay within yt port of so many convenient shippes and barkes being presently ther or which may hereafter arrive ther, as shall be sufficient for the transporting of yt number to be in a rediness . . ." A "true certificate" of the expense borne by the city was to be sent to the Privy Council, after which the city was to be reimbursed.[62]

The right of the government thus to commandeer with pay the service of accessible merchant shipping was never questioned. On the other hand there are occasional indications of reluctant compliance, particularly on the part of the local constables upon whom fell the onus of actually compiling the reports. The Vice-Admiral of Cornwall writing to Cecil in 1570 complained that "for as muche as some of the constables have byn verie remise in certefyinge as they have been required, I have thought it my dutie to signifie the same theire defaulte unto youre honors to thend that yt would please the same to determine some order for theire punishment."[63]

The usual price paid by the crown to merchant vessels in its service was 1 s. a ton per month before the year 1580, from then on, 2 s., the tonnage being calculated by measuring-officers.[64] By this method of calling into paid service the larger merchant vessels the Queen was able to augment her fighting force quickly, and at comparatively little unnecessary expense.

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[61] *Lans. MSS.* CIII; 81 (Jan. 8, 1593–4).
[62] *S. P. D. E.* CXLIX, 7.
[63] *Ibid.*, LXXIII, 8.
[64] Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 169 (also K. L. II, p. 118. Charges of *Ryall. of Weymouth.*—160 Tons, £16 for one month).

The Fleet of 1588

In the crisis of 1587–88, the royal ships numbered only 34. To these were added at the Queen's charge for tonnage, men, ammunition, and food, 24 coasters, 23 "voluntary shipps" and 33 "shipps and Barques" of which 15 were "victuallers".[65] The remaining 83 vessels of the fleet against the Armada were supplied and maintained for at least a part of the time by various ports and maritime localities and comprised the first extensive use by Elizabeth of her prerogative of demanding ships from her people without compensation and without parliamentary authorization.

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[65] *S. P. D. E.* CXXXVII, 15–B; CCXV, 82 (20 coasters in group under Lord Admiral; 4 in group with port towns serving under Seymour paid by Queen). Best lists CCXXXVII, Naval Affairs.

II

Geographic Survey of Uncompensated Levies Demanded by Elizabeth (1588–1603)

After the Armada year the Queen continued to demand uncompensated ship levies from her people as occasion arose. There are records of such demands being made in 1591,[1] 1594,[2] 1595–6,[3] 1599,[4] 1601,[5] 1602–03.[6]

Years in which Levies Were Made

These levies varied immensely in importance. Those for the years 1595–6 and 1603 were the largest and most widely diffused. Semi-official and fairly complete lists of the territories called upon for ships and their quotas still exist for these years.[7] For information concerning the other and smaller levies one is dependent largely upon local records, correspondence between local governments and the Privy Council and chance references made by the national or local officials concerned. Through these sources, though often incomplete, it is possible to define fairly well the causes and limits of the various levies, the organization by which they were put into effect, and the gradual spread over the whole of England of the crown's claim to make such levies.

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[1] *S. P. D. E.* CXXIX–XXX; *Jor.* 23; *Rep.* 22 passim.
[2] *Jor.* 23; *Remembrancia*, II, 26.
[3] *A. of P. C.* (1595–96). XXV, pp. 237–238; 492–93; *S. P. D. E.* CCLIV; CCLVI; *Jor.* 24; *Cal. Hatfield MSS.* VI, p. 6; *Lans. MSS.* LXXX; LXXXI.
[4] *Jor.* 25; *Chamberlain Letters*, pp. 59–61; *Harl. MSS.* 168; *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXII, 41; 48–51; 86, etc.
[5] *Jor.* 25 and 26; *C. S. P. D.* 1601, 405; *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXXI, 30.
[6] *Rep.* 26; *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXIV, 63; CCLXXXVII, 23, 25; *Warrant Book* I, 89; *Jor.* 26.
[7] *S. P. D. E.* CCLVI, 66 (Feb. 1596); CCLXXXVII, 8 (Jan., 1603).

Causes for the Levies

From 1588 on, the crown was at frequent intervals engaged in naval manoeuvers and expeditions, and the expenses incurred were burdensome and often embarrassing. In January of 1589 Hawkins requested a warrant for £1,000 to pay off the ships which had served with Drake the year before. According to his letter to the Council, "many of the greatter sorte of the Londonners are yet to be payd good somes; for which I am muche importuyned with such wordes as though I did them greate wrong."[8] In March, a petition was made by one of the said "Londonners", one Cordell, to Burghley for payment of tonnage for 2 ships serving under Drake. He had received £300 from Hawkins but desired the £400 due him.[9] Plymouth, a year later, was still trying to collect £6,600 from the crown for victuals supplied in 1588.[10] Even after the strain of the Armada was over the government seemed to find great difficulty in meeting its naval expenditures. In 1591, some ship owners insisted on a guarantee of payment for transporting troops according to the tonnage of their ships before they undertook the work.[11] In 1592, there appeared an estimate of charges still unpaid of 100 ships "not her maiesties" engaged for seven months in the Portugal Voyage in 1589.[12] In 1595 several ship owners compounded with the crown for 8 merchant-men desired by it, offering the ships for £5,341 or in ready money, £3,536.[13]

These are only a few instances culled from many to illustrate how tardily the crown met the heavy expenditures which its policy of naval activity entailed. The instances quoted have purposely been chosen from the class of extraordinary naval expenses. Over and above these, there was always the annual outlay for the queen's own ships already mentioned.[14] Under these circumstances, Elizabeth's government, hard pressed as it was for money, made use in 1588 and in subsequent years of the

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[8] *Ibid.*, CCXXII, 3.
[9] *Ibid.*, CCXXIII, 4.
[10] *Ibid.*, CCXXIV, 27.
[11] *Ibid.*, CCXXXVIII, 103.
[12] *Ibid.*, CCXLI, 72.
[13] *Ibid.*, CCLI, 46.
[14] *Cf.* above, pp. 11; 12.

royal prerogative to demand from the various ports help in the naval defense of the country. As has already been noted,[15] through this means the crown increased the fleet against the Armada by over 80 ships. This success was remembered and the records for the years cited above[16] show how often in the latter part of the reign the government called upon various localities for uncompensated aid in ships.

As far as one can ascertain, however, Elizabeth never made such a demand without a specific need for the ships. In 1591, an expedition to the Azores, under Howard, was under way[17]. In 1594, London granted ships "to join with her Majesties navie at sea for withstandinge the greate forces prepared by the Kinge of Spaygne against Brittayne."[18] The call for aid in 1595–6 was more general than any since 1588, and had as its reason the same fear of an invading Spanish Armada,[19] plus plans for an English attacking expedition to Cadiz.[20] In 1599, the government again professed fears of invasion from Spain and asked London for more ships.[21] In 1601 London was asked by "expressed command of the queen" to build 2 galleys "to withstande the malicious purposes and attempts of the Kinge of Spayne"[22] and Plymouth sent out pinnaces for scouting purposes.[23] In 1603, an elaborate plan was drawn up for a fleet against the "Dunkirkers" to be supported at the country's expense.[24] The same year, London was to provide 2 "Dromblers" for the protection of the Thames.[25]

The 80 odd ships which served against the Armada and for which the Queen did not pay, were variously distributed. The

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[15] *Cf.* above, p. 18.
[16] *Cf.* above, p. 19.
[17] *C. S. P. D.*, 1591–94, p. 55.
[18] *Jor.* 23 f. 289 (Act of Com. Council 15 July, 1594).
[19] Cheyney, *op. cit.*, II, chap. 28.
[20] *Jor.* 24 f. 79–B ff.
[21] *Ibid.*, 25 f. 74–B; 75. *Harl. MSS.* 168.
[22] *Ibid.*, 25 f. 230.
[23] *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXXI, 30.
[24] *Ibid.*, CCLXXXVII, 8; CCLXXIV, 63. *Rep.* 26 f. 81–B.
[25] *Jor.* 26 f. 66.

Geographical Distribution of the Uncompensated Levy of 1588

Cinque Ports contributed relatively few. To be sure, 13 of their ships were already in service against the Dunkirkers.[26] In addition, the official lists of the "names of the Porte Townes and what shipps and pinnaces they were appointed to furnish" marked "the Five Ports" for 5 ships and 1 pinnace.[27] A letter from Richard Barrey, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, to Walsingham commended the Cinque Ports upon the speed with which they had furnished 30 boats on one day's notice, "most of them fishermen of Rye and Hastings". But these small boats were maintained at the government's charge.[28]

London, as the wealthiest and most important seaport, carried the principal weight of the burden and supplied the Queen in all with 30 "shippes and barques" and a total of 2,130 men.[29] The original assessment list, dated April 1, required of London and Lea together only 8 ships and 2 pinnaces.[30] The London Common Council for the 3rd of April, 1588, however, doubled the quota, and "willingly enacted . . . there shall be presently provided, furnished, and had in readines towardes the defence of her Majestie person and this Realme, from forreine Invasion the nomber of 16 of the greatest and best merchaunte ships for warre that can be founde within the River of Thames, and fower Pinnasses to attende on them fullye furnished and provided in all pointes at the only chardges of this cittie . . . .".[31] Before the year was out, these 20 ships had been raised to 30. An unsigned separate notice among the Additional MSS. gives a list of the nobility who contributed to the defense of the country at the time of the Spanish Armada, and adds proudly that the City of London, though only requested to find 5,000 men and 15 ships, willingly provided 10,000 men armed and furnished with all necessaries, and 30 ships, besides keeping 30,000 more men

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[26] *Cf.* above, pp. 10, 11.
[27] *S. P. D. E.* CCXXXVII, 18–B. (*Cf.* Document in full—*Appendix A.*)
[28] *Ibid.*, CCXVII, 72 (July 31, 1588).
[29] *Ibid.*, CCXXXVII, 15–B; CCXV, 82.
[30] *Ibid.*, 18–B; *A. of P. C.*, 1588, p. 9.
[31] *Jor.* 22 f. 173 (3 Apr., 1588).

MAP SHOWING PORT TOWNS ASSESSED FOR SHIPS IN 1588

Towns indicated are those originally assessed; adjoining towns and a few counties were added as the result of correspondence between the ports and the Privy Council.

Source for Map—S. P. D. E., Vol. 237, f. 18 b., cf. Appendix A.

prepared to march whenever there should be occasion, and lending to the Queen £51,900 in ready money.[32]

If London responded readily and generously to the crown's demand for ships the same cannot be said for most of the other towns. In the original list[33] of 1588, the Privy Council designated 34 towns, excluding London and Lea, with harbors on the coast or adjoining creeks and asked of them a total of 40 ships and 27 pinnaces. The list began with Bristol on the west, and followed the coast along the south and east to Hull and Newcastle in the north. All of the ships were to be 60 tons or more and were to be ready by the 25th of April.[34] With the notable exception of the Five Ports which supplied their quota of 5 ships and 1 pinnace promptly, and were duly commended for their "forwardness,"[35] most of the assessed towns protested and wrangled over the levy. They wrote letters constantly to the Council to set forth their dire poverty or to ask that neighboring towns or the counties in which they were located should be required to share the expense with them.[36] The delay in getting ready the ships was great, but when the fleet was finally assembled against the Armada, the port towns exclusive of London had contributed 34 merchant ships "serving with Sir Francis Drake Westward", and 19 coasters with Lord Henry Seymour.[37] The pressure brought to bear upon the towns by the government and their extreme reluctance to produce and equip the ships was glossed over in a contemporary pamphlet of the events. This article, called "*The State of England in 1588*", was of a journalistic character, and possessed much of the inaccuracy of modern journalism. It was written by one J. Thomas Phillips and purported to be a contemporary letter by an English priest to Don Bernardino Mendoza, ambassador in France for the King of Spain. It commented on "the great numbers of Ships of the

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[32] *Additional MSS.* 33922 f. 86.
[33] *S. P. D. E.* CCXXXVII, 18–B [*Appendix A*].
[34] *A. of P. C.*, 1588, p. 9.
[35] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 90 (Apr. 15, 1588).
[36] *Ibid.*, CCIX–70, 71, 75, 77, 81, 84, 87, 88, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 104. CCXII, 53; CCXVI, 27; *Lans. MSS.* LVI, 61.
[37] *S. P. D. E.* CCXXXVII, 15–B. (23 coasters served with Lord Henry but 4 of these were paid by the Queen. *S. P. D. E.* CCXV, 82.

Subjects, as of London and other Port Towns and Cities that voluntarily this Year were armed, able to make a full Navy of themselves . . . . and all at the proper Costs of the Burgesses, for certain months, with men Victual, and Munition, which did join with the Queen's own Navy all this Summer; a Thing never in any former Age heard of, otherwise than that such Ships were always hired, waged and victualled by the Kings of the Realm, which argued . . . a most vehement and unaccustomed Affection and Devotion in the Cities and Port Towns."[38]

Small Local Levies (1588–1595)

Commandeering ships by the crown "at the proper cost of the Burgesses," may have seemed in 1588, "a thing never in any former Age heard of," but from then on, it became sufficiently familiar to an increasing number of towns and counties. Between the years 1588 and 1596 the Queen seems to have limited her demand largely to London, and a few scattering coast towns. The commission for the Portugal voyage of 1589, which partook largely of a private enterprise, provided for 6 of her majesty's ships and 20 merchantmen from London, and the eastern ports like Yarmouth, Ipswich, Harwich and Dover. These ships were to be either hired or "pressed into service."[39] In 1590, Dover made a voluntary offer to provide ships against the Dunkirkers.[40] Twice in the year 1591, London provided the Queen with ships. In June, the city agreed to fit out 6 ships and a pinnace to go with Howard to the Azores,[41] and again, in November, it promised the Queen "the same shippes or the like in number and qualitie as in somer last weare furnished."[42] In the same year Lyme Regis was asked for a ship of 100 tons but refused.[43] In July 1594, for "service against the forces of the King of Spayne" London promised the Queen 6 ships and 2 pinnaces for three months, the cost to be defrayed partly out

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[38] *The State of England in 1588.* Goldsmith's Library. London (reprint, 1776).
[39] *S. P. D. E.* CCXVII, 79; CCXXII, 1.
[40] *C. S. P. D.* 1581–90, p. 652.
[41] *Jor.* 23 f. 31; f. 43–B.
[42] *Ibid.*, f. 73.
[43] *Cal. Hatfield MSS.* XII, pp. 450–51 (June 28, 1591).

MAP SHOWING TWELVE MARITIME COUNTIES WITH THEIR PORTS ASSESSED FOR SHIPS IN 1596

Towns and counties indicated are those originally assessed. Some changes and additions were made after correspondence between the assessed localities and the Privy Council. Many towns were included under the general phrase, "and other ports".
Source for Map—S. P. D. E., Vol. 256, f. 66, cf. Appendix B.

NOTE—Four towns in Suffolk mentioned in the Manuscripts but difficult to identify have been omitted.

of the net gain from the capture of the Spanish carrack in the 1591 expedition.[44]

Geographical Distribution of Uncompensated Levy of 1596

Rumors of the preparation of another Armada late in 1595 caused the crown to demand a second general levy of ships from the port towns. A list headed "Port Towns in 12 Maritime Counties to set out ships" and dated February 1595–6[45] began with Somerset, and continued around the south coast by Cornwall and Devon and around the east coast through York even to Durham and Northumberland. The only maritime counties omitted were Sussex and Kent, which were partly covered by the separate assessment of the Cinque Ports.[46] It is to be remarked that whereas the parallel list of 1588 made note only of important ports, this list of 1596 included all the ports under each county. The format was as follows:

		SHIPPES
"*Somersett,*	Bristoll and all the port townes in Somersett to find....	3
Cornwall	Ffoy and all the portes in Cornwall to finde.....	1
Dorsett	Waymouth, Lynne, Poole and all other portes in Dorset to finde.....	2"

The sum total of ships demanded according to the list was 26, exclusive of London's assessment of 5. As a matter of fact, when the fleet was assembled in the early summer, there were 12 ships from London and only 17 coasters, presumably at the charge of the towns.[47] Compared with the 34 merchant ships and the 19 coasters provided by the towns in 1588, exclusive of the 30 merchant-men of London,[48] this was not a large number. Nevertheless, the cost of the ships was distributed over a larger area in 1596 than in 1588. The original purpose of the crown would seem to have been to levy a rate merely on all the ports of

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[44] *Jor.* 23 f. 289.
[45] *S. P. D. E.* CCLVI, 66. (Feb., 1596.)
[46] *Cf.* Doc. appended in full; also accompanying map. Compare with lists and map for 1588 also appended, *S. P. D. E.* CCXXXVII, 18–B.
[47] *S. P. D. E.* CCLVII, 60. CCLIX, 2.
[48] *Ibid.*, CCXXXVII, 15–B.

the 12 maritime counties including the "creek parishes" and small towns adjoining the big ports.[49] Tardiness in complying with the levy and complaints of poverty from the port towns however, led the government to include more and more territory and even important inland towns in the general assessment. The burden finally was shared very generally by the whole of each maritime county, the inland districts as well as the towns on the coast.

In the case of Bristol the levy was distributed not only over the ports and County of Somerset but enlarged to include the neighboring great towns of Worcester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, and Cardiff. The Council letter to these towns read "it is thought meete that suche citties or tounes as are adjoyninge to the portes . . . . and whose safetie is neerely dependent on the portes shall in a reasonable proporcion, contribute to the settinge foorth of the shippinge."[50] Later a separate letter to Tewkesbury ordered that town, though entirely inland in situation, to help Gloucester inasmuch as it benefitted "by traffick at the porte of Gloucester."[51] The same type of letter ordered inland towns in Hampshire,[52] Norfolk[53] and Yorkshire[54] to help out the port towns in their assessments. This brought the important inland towns of Salisbury, Winchester, Norwich, Wakefield, Halifax and Leeds within the grasp of the ship levy, besides the western towns along the Severn waterway. The Council's letter to the Mayor of Norwich stated definitely that the charge for Yarmouth, Lynne, and other port towns of the County of Norfolk "would be over burdensome if it should only be borne of the inhabitantes of the said porte towns." And continued, "forasmuch as that city of Norwich doth divers wayes receive proffict and commodity of traffique throughe the said porte towns and this service doth importe the general defence of the

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[49] *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, pp. 157–158, 298–300.
[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 157–158.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 237–38 (also *Reprint of A. of P. C.* Vol. XXV, Tawney *Ec. Doc.* II, pp. 237–38; 429–93.)
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 161–62.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 329.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 241–42.

whole realme," a collection should be taken up at Norwich for the help of the ports.[55]

Once begun, this policy of extending the responsibility for the ship levies beyond the coast towns went on to include the purely rural districts of the maritime counties. The collection of the county charge was usually placed in the hands of the deputy lieutenants or justices of the peace, and orders from the Privy Council to these officials were then sent forth. That to the Deputy Lieutenants of Norfolk in 1596 commanded them "to cause a collection to be generally made within the County of the wealthier sorte."[56] Like orders went out to the Deputy Lieutenants of Dorset,[57] Suffolk,[58] Yorkshire,[59] and Cornwall.[60] The Lord Admiral acting for the Council wrote to the Justices of Essex that inasmuch as the "portes, creekes and coast townes" of that county had complained of the heavy charge for ships they should now levy a rate over the whole county.[61] In the case of Yorkshire and Suffolk, at least, orders were given to divide the whole charge "indifferently" between (1) "the porte towns, havens, and creeks annexed to them," and (2) "the county."[62]

Extension of 1596 Levy over that of 1588

A general survey of the geographical distribution of the ship levy of 1596 shows a decided increase over the levy of 1588 in the towns and regions held responsible for this particular aid to the government.[63] The advance was made along two lines. First, important inland towns were required to contribute with nearby port towns from the shipping of which they were supposed to benefit. Second, the country districts of the maritime counties were charged to help on the ground that the levy was too burdensome for the ports

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 329.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 330.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 315.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 315.
[63] *Cf.* accompanying map and printed lists in appendix.

alone, or more significantly, that the service was a part of the "general defence" of the realm. Even in 1588, there were at least two instances in which the county as a whole was assessed. Dorset was required to meet the charges of the "Ryall of Weymouth" by "equal contributions" over the whole shire.[64] Sussex likewise was asked to meet the expenses of certain ships discharged by the Lord Admiral, which it refused to do on the ground of having already been "so greatly charged in these services."[65] By 1596, however, it had become the rule, not the exception, to ask a maritime county to help in the general assessment. The most important additions gained by the government in 1596 from the point of view of inland extension of the ship levy, were the town of Shrewsbury, situated in the completely inland county of Shropshire, that of York on the River Ouse but inland from the coast, and the inland wool towns of Halifax, Leeds, and Wakefield.[66]

London's share in the 1596 levy was, as usual, far larger than that of any other part of the realm. The general[67] list for February 1595–6 cited London for 5 ships. Though correct in most of its items, in this instance, it was entirely in error, as London in Common Council had two months earlier, December of 1595, already voted 12 ships and 2 pinnaces to the Queen.[68] Even that appropriation, generous as it seemed in comparison with the rest of the country, was less than the Queen's first request to the Common Council for 16 ships. The Privy Council delivered the Queen's "most gratious pleasure and comaundement" to this effect on the 14th of December to a committee from the city consisting of "Sir Richard Martyn and Sir John Harte, Knights, and Mr. Moseley, Alderman."[69] On the 15th of December, 1595, the London Common Council recorded the Queen's request, and appointed a committee to decide what would be the charge of victualling and furnishing a

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[64] *S. P. D. E.* CCXV, 20, 20–I (K. L. *op. cit.*, II, pp. 117–118).
[65] *Ibid.*, CCXV, 72–I, II.
[66] Halifax, Leeds and Wakefield later excused on petition to Council. *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, p. 316.
[67] *S. P. D. E.* CCLVI, 66 (*Appendix B*).
[68] *Jor.* 24 f. 82 (A. of C. C. 29 December, 1595).
[69] *Ibid.* f. 79–B. (Sharpe *op. cit.*, I, p. 555).

ship and how many such ships "the present state and habilitie of this citie and the Inhabitants thereof may conveniently bear and provide."[70] On the 29th of December the council voted the Queen 12 ships and 2 pinnaces "victualled . . . and fully furnished in all pointes, and also twelve hundred men to serve in them for the space of Sixe Monthes at the charges of this citie to be ready by the laste of Marche next." It was also enacted at the same time that "humble suite" be made to the Lords of the Privy Council on the city's behalf for the said ships and pinnaces to be "pressed for the saide service by her highness aucthoritie and at her Majestie ordinary price."[71] The committee was also to request that if any prizes were taken or benefit gained during the service the city should have its part in the spoils according to the proportion of its charges.[72] This somewhat reluctant compliance on the part of the city was answered by a most gracious letter of thanks from the Queen to the effect that whereas "in this case your charge tendeth to no other ende then to provide for your owne preservation, yet findinge by reporte of our councell . . . with what willingness and freedome of spirite the same graunted and more particularly by our Admirall with howe good and substantiall an equipage the saide nomber shallbe sett forthe wee must confesse that the manner hereof doth soe much please us as wee are desirous that by this our owne writinge notice may be taken of our gracious acceptation and thanks retorned to you all."[73]

In the next December, that of 1596, the Queen asked London for 10 more ships, and this time was met with a complete refusal. The prize fund from the very successful Cadiz expedition had not been distributed according to the hopes of the London burgesses, the fear of Spanish invasion for the moment had abated, and they would risk no more in the Queen's ventures.[74]

Another Spanish alarm in 1599 sent the Queen again to

[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*, f. 82–B. (A. of C. C. 29 Dec., 1595).
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.* f. 84–B, 85 (record of the Queen's letter).
[74] *Ibid.* f. 173, 175 (Sharpe *op. cit.*, I, p. 557). *Anal. Index Remembrancia*, pp. 243–44.

London to ask for ships. The Common Council on the 3rd of July promised her 16 ships,[75] but by a later act (Aug. 3) provided for only 8.[76] On the 8th of August in answer to letters from the Privy Council asking for more ships the quota was raised to 12[77] and so remained. On the 13th of August, however, 30 hoys were added for the defense of the Thames and the victualling of the 12 ships was extended from one month to two.[78]

Small Levies between 1596 and 1603

Aside from London there seems to have been very little aid asked of the ports in 1599. Plymouth prepared some pinnaces for scouting purposes[79] and Sir Nicholas Parker wrote to Raleigh that he had sent forth one pinnace on a voyage of discovery from Penrhyn and was preparing a second one, adding, "aid me . . . to levy the charge thereof on the country, otherwise the poverty of the place is such that it will be too heavy a burden."[80]

An occasional scouting pinnace from Plymouth[81] and 2 galleys built by London expressly for the Queen[82] seem to have comprised the government's demand in 1601.

The most elaborate plan for securing aid in ships from the country ever formed in Elizabeth's time, though it was made ineffective by her death, was one by which the merchant shipping on all the coasts of England was to be protected by a permanent fleet maintained at the cost of the country as a whole. In the early months of 1603 letters were sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Lieutenants of the southwest counties. Attention was called to the fact that English shipping was constantly being despoiled by Spanish

Geographical Distribution of 1603 Plan

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[75] *Ibid.*, 25 f. 77–B.
[76] *Ibid.*, f. 78.
[77] *Ibid.*, f. 81.
[78] *Ibid.*, f. 84–B. (Sharpe *op. cit.*, I, p. 560).
[79] *C. S. P. D.*, 1598–1601, p. 291; *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXII, 41.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 295; *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXII, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56.
[81] *Ibid.*, 1601–1603; p. 76. (July 30, 1601.)
[82] *Jor.* 25 f. 230 (A. of C. C. Jan. 25, 1600–01).

ships and the Dunkirk pirates. It was impossible to use "her Majesties owne shippes" to repell these raids. They were not "aptely built for that purpose"; it was still necessary to maintain a fleet on the Narrow Seas; the Queen could not afford so great a charge for mere convoy purposes when she had also the burden of keeping a fleet off the coast of Spain, and some shipping upon the coast of Ireland. On the other hand, "diverse persons," especially the merchants, were very willing to undergo any reasonable charge to maintain a "convenyient" number of ships. But they were not able to support the burden "without an unyversall contribution." Therefore, the Lord Lieutenants were to take particular care to persuade subjects within their counties to a "voluntary contribution" toward the setting forth and maintenance of such shipping. Special letters were to be sent by the Lord Lieutenants to all such towns as would be particularly interested in the scheme. Hope was further expressed that no places would stand "excuse of privilege or exemption" as it was not meant "to drawe any thing otherwise than voluntary and not by coertion." The Queen disavowed all intention of "pryvate profitte" in the proposal and promised that all money should be "converted to theire use that gave it", further stating that "though every person shall not feele an equall profitte . . ." and "althoughe this matter most concerneth the safetye of forrayne commerce, whoe is it that dwells soe farr within the land, that shall not feele sewer effects of such an interruption when the wealth and strength of this kingdome hath soe much dependency upon maytenance of trade and navigation, which beeinge overthrown and that the hoame commodityes shal not be vented, what can be looked for, but poverty and confusion as well upon the Inland as the marityme." The Privy Council had therefore decided that a "convenient fleet", so divided as to protect every coast throughout the whole kingdom, should be provided and maintained at the charge of "Countyes cittyes and Townes of the Realme."

The letter of the Council stated, in a general way, that an estimate had been made for the entire cost of such a fleet, but such letters as now exist in full consider only the particulars for the "Westerne Fleete". This was to be "only alloted for the

defense of the westerne coast from Bechy in Sussex to Milford Haven in Wales"; was estimated at a cost of £8,300 or thereabouts and was to amount to about 1,000 tons of shipping. To make the proposal in some degree attractive, the Queen further promised to supply all the munition herself, and to allow all lawful prizes to be "absolutelie freed from Customes and Tenthes and wholy reserved for the best meanes to contynue the service." If no prizes were taken and the expense should prove too great those contributing were to be allowed to withdraw after the first year.[83]

With the letter to the Lord Lieutenants was originally enclosed a schedule of Robert Cecil's for the "voluntary contribution over the whole country for ships against Dunkirkers."[84] As a matter of fact, this schedule concerned itself only with the contribution for the western fleet, of which the letter spoke. The schedule itemized the charge estimated in the letter at £8,300, into £8,235, 4 s., 0 d. The first division of the schedule listed the six towns of Exon [Exeter], Bristol, Gloucester, Salisbury, Worcester, and the "Towne and County of Poole". Then followed divisions under the respective headings "Townes" in Devon, in Dorset, in Somerset, in Cornwall, "Shires," of which 7 were mentioned, and territories under the Lord President for the Marches of Wales.[85]

A comparison of this schedule with the lists already noted for 1588, and 1596, shows a marked increase in the inland territory which was to be assessed for the expense of the ships. Whereas the increase in 1596 had been limited largely to the inland portion of maritime counties and to a few inland towns of marked importance, the 1603 schedule included all of the southwestern section of England from Sussex to Pembroke in Wales, without distinction between inland and maritime regions. It included by name among the other counties the completely inland shires

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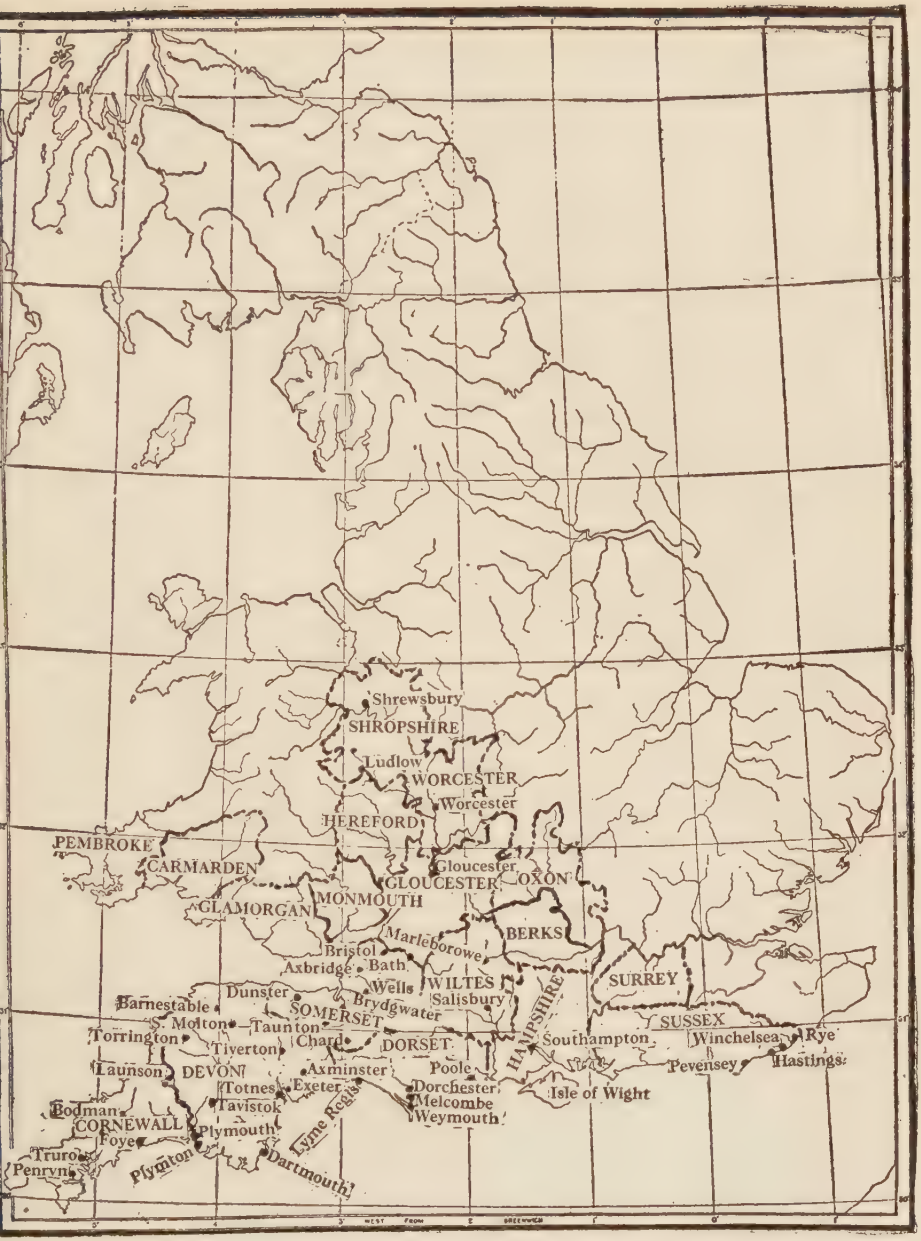
[83] *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXIV, 63 (Calendered as Feb. (?) 1600, corrected in P. R. O. records and redated Jan. 17, 1603, as the letter accompanying Cecil's schedule for that date). *Harl. MSS.* DCCIII, 135 (Copy of same letter to Lord Lieuts. of Sussex) *A. of P. C.*, 1601–04, p. 491. (27 Feb., 1603.)

[84] *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXXVII, 8. (*Appendix C.*)

[85] *Cf. Appendix C* also Map.



MAP SHOWING ALL THE WESTERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND WITH THEIR TOWNS ASSESSED FOR THE FLEET AGAINST THE DUNKIRKERS IN 1603

Plan never materialized because of Queen's death.

Source for Map—S. P. D. E., Vol. 287, No. 8, cf. Appendix C Cecil's Schedule for the Western Fleet.

NOTE—A few of the smaller towns in Cornwall and two in Somerset mentioned in the Manuscripts but difficult to identify have been omitted.

of Surrey, Berks, Wilts, Oxford, and Hereford, besides the formerly assessed Shropshire and Worcester. All four of the southern Welsh shires were also included—Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthem and Pembroke.

Whether or not the government could have induced these inland shires to contribute for the western fleet, if the Queen had lived, it is impossible to determine. The letter to the Lord Lieutenants stressed the fact that the Queen meant the contribution to be entirely voluntary. On the other hand, the same letter stated very definitely in the case of Sussex that everyone "Hable to dispende eyther in Landes or Leases twenty poundes yearely or to be worth two hundred poundes in money or goods" should be asked to contribute.[86]

The warrant of the Queen authorizing "the collection for setting out of 10 or 12 ships" was dated the 18 Feb. 1603.[87] Early in March her health began noticeably to fail and on the 23rd she died. Consequently the scheme was never put to the proof. Indeed, judging from the answer returned by London, the only reply of which we have record, the chances for its success were not great. On the 17th of January, 1603, the London Common Council appointed a committee of six to consider "what the charges may amount unto for the setting out of twoe shippes and one pynasse to the seas for the service of her Maiestie."[88] Subsequently,[89] the Lord Mayor of London wrote to the Privy Council that the charge of 2 ships and 1 pinnace would be £6,000 per annum and upwards. And that inasmuch as the Council had directed that the contribution should be voluntary "to the end men might be drawen on to this seruice by the necessitie of the cause rather than by anie compulsorye meanes", the companies of London had been "severallie dealt withall" and had "condiscended to a contribution of £678 for this present seruice." Many of the merchants of London declared that the scheme did "not soe much concerne them as . . . others elswhere in other partes of the Kingdome" as they

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[86] *Harl. MSS.* DCCIII, 135.
[87] *Ibid.*, 134–B.
[88] *Rep.* 26 f. 81–B.
[89] *Remembrancia Anal. Index*, II, p. 228.

were able to arm their own merchant ships so strongly that they "feared not the Dunkirkers".

Defense of Coast by Whole Realm

Even in its incomplete form, however, the proposal of 1603 for a fleet to be maintained by the country against the Dunkirkers and Spaniards is extremely significant. The theory that the port towns owed aid to the crown in ships, itself none too certainly established in 1588, had now given place to the much more national idea that the defense of the coast was the defense of the whole realm, and should be borne by the whole realm; and, secondly, that the government had the right to expect that in the form of contributions outside of parliamentary taxes the people as a whole would help in this defense. The schedule of 1603 as we now know it, takes up only the assessment for the western fleet, but inasmuch as that assessment thoroughly covered all of the southwestern portion of the realm, there is every reason to believe that the Council's full plan was to divide all England, coast and inland, into several sections, each one of which would support its own fleet. It is also worthy of note that the plan of 1603 provided for permanent maintenance of these fleets by an annual contribution. Heretofore the levies for ships had each been for a particular crisis and a stated length of time.

Aside from this inclusive plan for the voluntary fleet, the last days of Elizabeth saw only one other effort on the part of the government to obtain aid in ships. On the 12th of March, in answer to orders from the Council, London voted two "Dromblers" to be furnished at the expense of the city to guard the Thames.[90] Like the more important order for the fleet this grant was never carried out. On the 12th of April a precept of the mayor ordered all the money then collected for this cause to be repaid to the various wards, as there had been a "stay" made in the preparation of the ships.[91]

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[90] *Jor.* 26 f. 66, 66–B.
[91] *Ibid.*, f. 79.

III

Survey of the Increase in Substitution of Money Payments for Ships in Uncompensated Levies (1588–1603)

The extension inland of the ship levy from 1588 to 1603 can be in part paralleled by the tendency to substitute a money payment for the actual ships demanded by the crown. This is the payment traditionally known as "ship money".

Theory of Local Responsibility for Taxes

In 1588, when Elizabeth first made an extensive use of the ship levy, the Privy Council's letters to the ports requested a certain number of ships of a given tonnage, equipped with provisions, men and munitions for a stated length of time. The ships when ready were to report according to orders to the Admiral under whom they were to serve. The amount to be expended and the means of raising it were purely local affairs. The crown theoretically was interested only in having the prescribed quota well and promptly furnished. The requirements demanded of Barnstable were typical. This port was to "furnyshe twoo shippes and one handsome pynnace in warlike manner to be victualled for two monthes. And to be readie with all their necessarie preparacions by the 25th of this present," [i. e. April 1588], to join "the fleet set fowerthe in this west Countree, which twoo shippes [were to be] Threescore tonnes or upwardes."[1] Letters to the other ports varied from this only in the specific requirements. The larger towns were asked for more and larger ships and for victualling for three rather than two months.[2]

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[1] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 77.

[2] *Ibid.*, CCXXXVII, 15–B; CCXV, 82; *Jor.* 22 f. 193 (Sharpe *op. cit.*, II, p. 536).

Money Estimates of Levies for London in 1588

The cost of hiring and equipping the ships was often very considerable and was met by a special tax or assessment levied by the local authorities on their people. The charges incurred by London, in 1588, for its original contribution of 16 ships and 4 pinnaces with their crew of 1,340 men, were estimated at a sum total per month of £2,291 for wages, victuals, and tonnage, and another £2,000 for ammunition.[3] The Act of Common Council for April 3, 1588[4] provided that these charges for the ships should be met by assessment of "all persons whatsoever enhabitinge aswell in liberties of this cittie as without strangers and forreines sessed in the subsidye booke or not sessed beinge of habilitie and able to paie". On the 4th, the Lord Mayor of London formally instructed the aldermen of the wards to "assesse every Inhabitannte within your saide warde after the rate of 2 s. in the pounde in sorte as they were assessed at the last subsidie graunted to her Majestie. And further that you assesse at your discrecion all such others as you shall finde sufficiente and hable to beare the chardge thereof . . . and are not assessed in the last subsidie."[5] On the 19th of April this assessment was raised to 3 s. in the pound to be paid by every one assessed whether or not they appeared in the subsidy book and were rated there by lands or fees.[6] When in the middle of July the city consented to extend the victualling of these ships an extra month beyond the original three, the council decreed a new levy to be "imposed and levyed uppon every cittizen and inhabitante within this cittie and the freedome and liberties thereof . . . of 2 s. in the pounde for goodes and 3 s. in the pound for landes and fees."[7] The money raised by this second levy was to be divided between the expenses of revictualling and "furnishing the ships with municion and other things necessary" and the expenses of mustering and training 10,000 soldiers for the land service.[8]

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[3] *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 30 (K. L. *op. cit.*, I, p. 251).
[4] *Jor.* 22 f. 173.
[5] *Ibid.*, f. 173–B.
[6] *Ibid.*, f. 175 (A. of C. C. Apr. 19, 1588).
[7] *Ibid.* f. 200–B (A. of C. C. 10th Aug., 1588; Sharpe *op. cit.*, I, p. 536).
[8] *Ibid.*

The wealth of London was sufficient to meet these extra levies without much difficulty but the smaller ports and towns complained bitterly of the hardship entailed. Exeter wrote in 1588 that its charge for the sea service had already amounted to more than 5 entire subsidies,[9] and that it desired to be excused from paying the wages of the men and the tonnage of the ships for the extra fourth month, victuals for which it had already provided. A letter from Colchester in April of the same year complained that though the bailiffs had already taxed the inhabitants and themselves "with 2 s. in the pounde in goods and 3 s. in landes" this would meet only little more than half their charge for ships.[10] Most of the letters sent by the ports to the Privy Council ended with a petition that neighboring towns or parishes be ordered by the Council to join with the ports in the expense of preparing the ships for the Queen.[11]

Money Estimates in the Provinces in 1588

In general, the Privy Council acceded to their requests. Coggeshall, Dedham, and Eastbargholt were ordered to help Colchester "with the settinge forthe and furnishinge of the shippe" charged upon it.[12] The hundreds around Exeter[13] and later all towns within 12 miles of the coast[14] were to contribute with the town, though the "tyn stannaries" continued to be exempt.[15] Axminster was to help Lyme Regis; the whole county of Dorset, to share the expenses of the Ship "Ryall" of Weymouth which totalled £175, 15s. Very often the Council's letters to these additional towns and inland regions left the matter of the amount of the contribution to the ports undecided. They were to "laye oute some parte of

Money Requirements Placed by Council in 1588

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[9] *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 53.
[10] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 93.
[11] *Cf.* Letters quoted below p. 40; *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 96; (K. L. *op. cit.*, I, pp. 154–55, *Ibid.*, CCXVI, 27; K. L. II, p. 232).
[12] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 93.
[13] *Ibid.*, 84; (K. L. *op. cit.*, I, pp. 143–144); 81 (K. L. I., pp. 138–140).
[14] *Lans. MSS.* LVI, 61 (May 2, 1588).
[15] *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 53.

the charge"[16] or "to make equal contribution with"[17] the originally assessed port. The actual tax was still considered an essentially local matter. But as the collection of the necessary money progressed very slowly, and the Council was again and again importuned by the ports to force the neighboring localities to produce an adequate share of the expenses, the Council's orders became more explicit and required definite sums of money from the secondary towns. In 1588, of the £1500 expended by Ipswich the Council had stated £500 should be charged on the whole county of Suffolk.[18] A prolonged dispute between Lyme, Chard, Axminster, and the three counties in which they were situated over the proportioning of the costs for the Lyme ships called forth a series of letters to the Council from the Lieutenant of Devon, the Justices of Somerset, the Mayor of Lyme, and the citizens of Bristol, asking that the Privy Council should state definitely the sum each should contribute.[19]

Specified Amounts Ordered by Privy Council in 1596

In 1596, when the second large demand for ships was made, the Privy Council's letters followed the same policy. The inland towns and the rural portions of the maritime counties were first asked in general terms for a contribution to help the port towns.[20] When delay and evasion followed, as was almost universal, a second series of letters were sent stating the definite amount of money that the Council considered should be contributed by the locality in question. The towns to help Bristol were assessed by the Privy Council as follows: Somerset to collect £600, Gloucester £200, Worcester £40, Shrewesbury £60, 3s., 4.d, Cardiff £40[21]. Later the inland town of Tewkesbury was sessed at £40 towards Gloucester's

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[16] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 93.
[17] *Ibid.*, CCXV, 20; (K. L. *op. cit.*, II, pp. 117–118).
[18] *B. M. Add. MSS.* 34564 f. 2–B, 3. (Mentioned in petition of Ipswich in 1596 dispute).
[19] *S. P. D. E.* CCXVI, 27. (K. L. *op. cit.*, II, p. 232.)
[20] *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, p. 329, Norwich; p. 315, Yorkshire and Suffolk; p. 198, Essex; p. 223, Dorset; pp. 241–42, inland towns of Yorkshire; pp. 161–62, inland towns of Hampshire; p. 298, Devon; pp. 157–58, Western group and Severn.
[21] *Ibid.*, 1595–96, p. 224.

£200.[22] The correspondence between the coast towns and county of Suffolk and the Privy Council illustrates the usual process of assessment in considerable detail. On the 7th of January, 1596, the authorities of Ipswich and the other coast towns assessed in the general levy for 2 ships[23] wrote to the Lord Admiral and the Privy Council suggesting the names of larger and better ships for the service than those directed by the Lord Admiral and also suggesting that since the charge for the larger ships would be greater all the coast towns and villages of Suffolk "maye aswell be contributarie to the chardge as those Coast Townes mentioned."[24] The Lord Admiral replied on the 12th of January,[25] thanked the towns for their readiness to supply the ships, and directed that all maritime towns in the county should bear the charge equally. In the margin of this letter was written a list of 54 towns and villages, and a further note that delegates from each one had met together and "conferred of the charge and it ded apere to amounte unto 6 subsidies; [thereupon] it was agreed that ther shold be suite made to ye counsell for ease." The "suite" was made in the form of a petition from the inhabitants of Ipswich and the coast towns to the effect that the inland part of the county be asked to help them.[26] The petition stated that they had met together and found the charge for the 2 ships would amount to £1500 which "divided rateably" among all of them would "amount to 4 entire subsidies" and "if the weaker part [were] spared to 6 or 7 subsidies . . . [whereas] if distributed among the whole countre" it would amount to about ¼ of a subsidy apiece. In answer to this request the Council wrote to the Deputy Lieutenant of Suffolk on the 8th of February[27] and ordered that the inland parts of the county should help the coast towns inasmuch as the coast towns helped with the inland service of militia for the Queen. The lieutenant was to confer with officials of the towns and

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[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 237–38.
[23] *Cf. Appendix B.* List for 1596; *S. P. D. E.* CCLVI, 66.
[24] *B. M. Add. MSS.* 34, 564, f. 1–B.
[25] *Ibid.*, f. 2.
[26] *Ibid.*, f. 2–B and 3.
[27] *Ibid.*, f. 3–B.

submit the names of those in the county who could be rated. The Council nevertheless thought it "convenient" that no person be charged who was assessed "under the Rate of 5£'s goods and 3£'s lands in the subsedie." The money was to be in the hands of the coast towns by the 10th of March if possible. On the 25th of March, Ipswich and the coast towns again wrote the Lord Admiral.[28] The Lieutenants of Suffolk would assess the inlands for only £600 or ⅓ of the total charge. The coast towns could only conveniently pay ⅓ more or £600 which amounted for them to 2 subsidies. If they were required to bear the full sum of ⅔ the total charge, or £1200, it would mean 4 whole subsidies, which was more than they could pay. Accordingly, on the 28th of March,[29] the Privy Council wrote once more to the Lieutenants of Suffolk and ordered that ½ of the total charge or £900 was to be borne by the county.

It was through such situations as this, and at the direct instigation of the ports, that the central government began to consider the ship levy from the inland regions as primarily a money contribution, and gradually to assert its authority over the amount of each individual assessment.

Money Substitutions Sought by Ports

Frequently the ports themselves furthered this monetary view of the ship levy by asking that the Privy Council accept a flat contribution of pounds sterling in place of the ships assessed. In 1588, the town of Saltash asked the Council to accept £150 from them "in discharge of all manner of charges for victualling."[30] Bristol, listed in 1596 for 3 ships, asked the Council to accept instead 4 entire subsidies and not to charge it further for the service, although the subsidies would not cover the total expense, which the town estimated at £3000.[31] In the same way Exeter offered 500 marks to the Council as its part in the provisioning of the 4

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[28] *Ibid.*, f. 6.
[29] *Ibid.*, f. 9.
[30] *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 8.
[31] *Lans. MSS.* LXXX, 39. (Jan. 8, 1595.)

ships from the Plymouth group, which sum it estimated to be about "¼ parte of the victuals and wages of the whole."[32]

Even under these circumstances, the collection of the money was still local, and the various ports, not the national treasury, constituted the points of disbursement. Nevertheless, since the Council was the court of appeal for all adjustments and the source of all authority for raising the contributions, the practical issue resulted in the Council deciding the definite amounts of money to be raised in each port, town and county.

Complete Monetary Organization of 1603 Plan

The growing tendency of the government to consider the ship levy as a money tax, appearing in 1596 only as a greater definiteness in the amounts to be collected, was, in the proposal of 1603[33] for a fleet against the pirates, a completed policy. In Cecil's schedule[34] for the "western fleete" there was no attempt at all made to assign ships to the various counties and ports. Instead there was a careful apportionment in money over the whole of southwestern England of the total £8,235 which it was estimated would be the cost of "about a Thousand Tonne of Shipping." The Council's separate letters of instruction to the various counties and towns provided a full plan for the collection of the estimated amount, and its remittance to London to be expended from there in hiring and fitting out the ships. The instructions to the Lord Lieutenant, Sheriff, and Justices of Sussex were typical.[35] That county was "estymated at the some of fyve hundred thirtye twoo poundes". The officials were to "sende upp all such Somes of money as shalbe levyed to some one person heere whoe may receave the same untill upon conference other order shallbee taken," [namely] "Mr. Paule Baring late Alderman of London". Furthermore, they were cautioned "that no person be dealt withall to contrybute to this charge in any sorte whoe is not well knowen to you to be hable to despende eyther in Landes or Leases twenty

[32] *Ibid.*, 41 (Feb. 25, 1595–6).
[33] *Cf.* above p. 32 ff.; *Harl. MSS.* DCCIII, 135.
[34] *S. P. D. E.* CCLXXXVII, 8.
[35] *Harl. MSS.* DCCIII, 135.

poundes yearly, or to be worth twoo hundred poundes in money or goods."

The contribution for this fleet was to be voluntary and to be limited to the relatively wealthy.[36] This, however, does not materially affect its value as a proof that, by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the possibility of ship money as a centralized money tax had been fully apprehended by the crown.

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[36] *B. M. Add. MSS.* 34, 546, f. 3–B. In 1596 a contribution was required from everyone assessed in the Subsidy Book at £5 in goods and £3 in lands, as compared to the 1603 instruction for a rate of £20 in lands and £200 in goods. Assessments in the Subsidy Book did not, however, represent the just value of income but were always placed much lower.

IV

Machinery Used for Providing Uncompensated Ship Levies. (1588–1603)

That portion of the plan of 1603 which provided a central committee at London to carry out all the detail of hiring, provisioning and sending out the ships was also a new departure. The former method had been a diffused one, each port group separately providing its own quota. The original order for every ship levy between 1588 and 1603 came from the Queen's Privy Council in the shape of letters to the port towns.[1] As each time the territory made responsible for helping with the ships gradually widened, supplementary letters from the Council were sent to the mayors of inland towns, to the lord-lieutenants or their deputies in the counties, to the justices of the peace.[2] These local officials were made responsible by the Council for the collecting of the assessment for their districts. When collected the inland regions sent their amounts to the specific ports where the ships were hired, manned and provisioned for service, under the supervision of the mayors and aldermen.

Central Control by Privy Council

Theoretically, the collection of the money and the expenditure of it on the ships were purely local affairs. Practically, the local authorities constantly referred to the Privy Council to proportion the amount, to settle disputes, to give the Queen's warrant of authority for action. The fixing by the Council of the amounts which each district should bear has already been discussed.[3] The Council's decisions seem usually to have been made with some attempt at fairness and after full correspondence with the parties involved. A letter

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[1] *Cf.* above, p. 38; *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 77 (Requirements for Barnstable).
[2] *Cf.* above, p. 40 ff. *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, pp. 161–62.
[3] *Cf.* above, p. 40 ff.

received by the Council from Sarum [Salisbury] "contayning . . . reasonable excuses why they showld not contribute. . . . and namely amongst others that there are not above 3 merchants in Sarum that profitt by the port of Southampton and therefore ought not in reason to be charged," was answered by the order that those three or four merchants alone should be taxed, and the expressed hope that this decision would content Southampton.[4] In a dispute arising between Plymouth and its contributing towns of Totnes and Dartmouth a special order was given to Essex and the Lord Admiral to repair to Plymouth and deal with the mayors of these towns to secure a fair apportionment of the charge.[5] The claim of the towns of Halifax, Leeds, and Wakefield that they were too poor to contribute to the charge of Hull, and that they did not profit by the port, was recognized by the Council as just and the towns excused.[6] In the question of a group of villages in Devon which had been assessed because they were supposedly situated on creeks adjoining Dartmouth and which denied this location, the Council ordered that a commission should be sent to ascertain the truth. If the villagers were justified they were to be exempt; if not, the money was to be collected.[7] When in 1597, Sandwich was still refusing to pay Dover the money owed for their joint 1596 assessment, the Council again appointed a special commission to see into the matter and report back to them.[8]

Work of County Officials

When the amounts to be collected were definitely settled, it was the task of the local officials to collect them. The Privy Council usually charged the deputy lieutenants or the justices to assess the "wealthier sorte of the inhabytantes"[9] and the rating in the subsidy book was often, though not always, used as a basis for the charge.[10] Lists of those sufficiently prosperous to be

[4] *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, p. 208.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 319.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 316.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 464.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1597, p. 178.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1595–96, p. 292, Cornwall; *ibid.*, p. 329, Norfolk.
[10] *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 53, CCIX, 93, *cf.* above, p. 39, 40.

assessed were then compiled and the details of collection assigned to the bailiffs or constables of the hundreds.[11] In the making of the lists and the subsequent collection, the Council was, again, frequently appealed to for adjustment and authority. The letter of the Council to the Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk and Dorset gave the routine answer to complaints about individual recalcitrants. If any persons of good wealth should refuse to give liberally, the lieutenants were "to let them understande they maie thereby give occasion to be hereafter more straightlie dealt withal in the subsidy in the valuacion of their landes or goodes accordinge to the true value thereof, which wilbe little to their ease."[12] If they still remained obdurate, their bonds were to be taken for them to appear in person before the Council and answer for their refusal. If they refused bond they were to be imprisoned until examined by the Council.[13] The local officials, even with this support from the Privy Council, frequently had little liking for their task. The Lieutenant of Sussex writing to the Council in August of 1588, clearly set forth the general reluctance of the local official to tax his neighbors. He had received a letter from the Lord Admiral requesting him to "levye so much mony hereabout me in this country as will suffice to make pay and satisfaction" to the ships discharged by the Lord Admiral without pay. The lieutenant replied, "The which. . . .I cannot by any meanes do, unlesse I will seek to be hardly thought of by the country, having bene so greatly charged otherwise of late in theis services, and thereby grow odious unto them, or else that the same maybe levied by order and direction from your Honours of the Counsell, if you will so have it for that of my selfe I neither can nor will take it uppon me."[14]

The port towns, while besieging the Privy Council to include

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[11] *A. of P. C.*, 1597, p. 285.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1595–96, p. 276.
[13] *Ibid.* p. 299 ff. Letters to Exeter; Bristol; Dep. Lieut. of Somerset and Devon. p. 167, Queen to Mayor of London.
[14] *S. P. D. E.* CCXV, 72; I, II (Aug. 30, 1588).

the inland districts of their respective counties in their assessments, were themselves busy collecting the money from their own inhabitants, and deciding the multitude of details connected with the ships. In the controversy arising between the port towns and inland districts of Suffolk, the Council found it necessary to define clearly these two groups. By order, the port towns were not to include in their group, "anie other townes then soch as have officers for her Majesty's customes. . .and all other townes standing upon the sea coast that are held and reputed as members of the port townes."[15] Where two or more ports were included in one group, the general procedure seems to have been to hold a conference of delegates at the most important port, and decide there what ships should be hired, what the general estimated cost would be and how this should be apportioned, (first) among the combining port towns themselves, and (second) between this port group and the inland towns and country districts of the surrounding county.[16] These preliminaries, as has been noted, usually ended in letters to the Council asking that the various sums might be definitely fixed and as much outside help as possible be granted the port towns. With the apportionment settled, it was then the duty of the mayor and aldermen of each town to fix the rate of the assessment for their own people, and collect the money. As in the country districts, the subsidy list with additions, and very frequently the subsidy rate of 2 s. in the pound and 3 s. in lands,[17] was used as the basis for the assessment.

Work of Town Officials in Ports and in London

London, as the largest port and the most frequently and heavily assessed, gives an excellent example of the exact procedure used. Upon receipt of each of the Privy Council's letters requesting ships, the London Common Council passed an act acknowledging the letters and either agreeing or refusing to supply the number of ships re-

Assessments by Acts of Common Council

[15] *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, p. 366.
[16] *Cf.* above, p. 42. Ipswich and Coast towns; *B. M. Add. MSS.* 34, 564. f. 1–B, 2, 2–B, 3; *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 81, Lyme Group.
[17] *Cf.* above, p. 39. *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 53; CCIX, 93. *Jor.* 22 f. 200–B.

quired. Such acts[18] are on record for 3 April 1588, 16 June 1591, 29 Nov. 1591, 8 Jan. 1595–6, 24 Dec. 1596, 31 July 1599, 8 Aug. 1599, 20 Jan. 1600–01, 12 Mar. 1602–03. Each act also created the machinery necessary to provide the ships. The terms of the act for 1588, after stating that "16 of the greatest and best merchannte ships . . . and fower Pinnasses" were to be supplied the Queen, created a committee of thirty-five men to take upon themselves the general care of providing for the ships. The committee so formed was known as the Committee for Marine Causes[19] and was part of the necessary legislation for each levy. Sometimes it was joined with the Committee for Land Causes, whose duty was to provide upon the city's behalf the militia for the Queen, but most often it acted independently. Its duties were two-fold: (1) to supervise the collection of the money for the ships, and (2) to oversee their hiring and equipping. To expedite the collection, it was generally enacted[20] that all persons whatsoever of sufficient ability, living in the liberties of the city or without, strangers and foreigners either assessed or not in the Queen's book, should pay such sums of money as should be assessed upon them by the alderman and his deputy constables in the ward in which they resided. Collectors were to be appointed for every ward, and the same were presently to deliver the money to a treasurer specially appointed for the service. Whoever refused to contribute such sums as he was assessed should be destrained by his goods and chattels or attached by his body and imprisoned until he made payment. For this service two bailiffs were appointed to attend upon the committee.

Assessment by Aldermen of the Wards

Immediately after each act of Common Council ordering the ships, the mayor upon the authority of the council instructed the aldermen of the wards to assess the inhabitants according to the rate determined for each levy. Besides the individuals which the subsidy book showed to be of good wealth, the mayor charged the aldermen to assess at their

[18] *Jor.* 22 f. 173; *ibid.*, 23 f. 31, f. 73; *ibid.*, 24 f. 82–B, f. 173; *ibid.*, 25 f 77–B, f. 81, f. 230; *ibid.*, 26 f. 66.
[19] *Letter Book ETC.* f. 206–B. *Rep.* 21 f. 586, 586–B; *Jor.* 22 f. 210–B.
[20] *Jor.* 22 f. 173 (A. of C. C. Apr. 3, 1588).

"discrecion" all such others as they judged "sufficiente and hable" to bear the charge.[21] Any person, however, who felt himself unjustly assessed could appeal his case to the central committee. By provision of the Common Council, "uppon due regarde had of his or theire habilities complayninge the said comytties or any fower or more of them have full power and Lawfully maye. . .either to mittigate the said Sesements uppon hym or them so ymposed or ells by their goode discreassions clerely releasse and dischardge everie such persones of all and everie some and somes of money on him or them so assessed." By the same act, the central committee was also given control over the local treasurers of the wards. The committee, or any four or more of them, were to call before them "all collectors and Treasorers. . .for everye severall ward. . .and take theire accompts for all the receyts and payments." Treasurers who refused to deliver their accounts with the money collected were to be committed to ward, "there to remayne untyll everie of them shall have made payment accordinglye."[22]

In apportioning the assessment, the city authorities took stock not only of all residents within the city, even including strangers and those living in the "privileged places"[23] but also frequently assessed as corporations the trade guilds of London, known as the "Livery Companies". In the grant, made in June, 1591, to the Queen of 6 ships of war and 1 pinnace for 5 months, the entire charge was by Act of the Common Council ordered to be "wholly defraied and borne by and amongst all the sewerall halls."[24] A special committee of six men, each one of a different company, was appointed to insure "Indifferent usage in the rateage" and the whole sum of £7,400, the estimated cost of the ships, was to be assessed by them in equal proportion among the "saide halls." Two treasurers were appointed to

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[21] *Jor.* 22 f. 173–B; *Ibid.*, 23 f. 32–B; (18 May, 1591); *ibid.*, f. 48–B. (20 of Sept., 1591); *ibid.*, 24 f. 85–B. (Jan. 15, 1595–6), etc.
[22] *Letter Book ETC.* f. 206–B (25 Sept., 1588).
[23] *Cf.* below, p. 87 ff.—Discussion of "privileged places".
[24] *Jor.* 23 f. 31 (A. of C. C. 16 June, 1591).
[25] *Ibid.*, f. 43–B (10 Sept., 1591).

receive and disburse this sum. By a later declaration the warden of each company was made responsible for delivering the amount assessed on his guild upon threat of imprisonment for failure.[25] Appended to the original act in the city records was an itemized list of the assessment for each of the 52 trade guilds. The whole amount thus apportioned totalled to £6,759, 16s., of which the 12 great companies were assessed £5,174, 8s.[26] The cost exceeded even the original estimate, and consequently a second order was passed for a further assessment of £1,240, 4s. upon the companies with the threat of imprisonment for defaulting wardens.[27] The Queen's call for ships in 1591 was limited to London only, and was part of a project to capture Spanish treasure reported to be in the neighborhood of the Azores. It thus was more a semi-private expedition for gain than a matter of national defense. This aspect of the case probably determined the Common Council to assess the companies only, and not the people of London, for the charge of the expedition.

When, however, in 1594, the city again promised the Queen 6 ships and 2 pinnaces for 3 months for the relief of Brest, the cost was split between the companies, which were to employ towards the performance of the service "all gaynes clerely gotten of the goods of the last Carrique,"[28] and the inhabitants as individuals.[29] In the large levy made in 1596,[30] the companies were not actually taxed, but they were ordered by the Common Council to lend the city £3,500 towards the charge of the 12 ships, 2 pinnaces, and 1200 men which the city was contributing to the Queen. The loan was to be made for a whole year without interest under the city's bond for repayment. The proportion among the companies was decided by the mayor, whose instructions followed hard upon the council's acts.

As the collection for each levy progressed, the Common Coun-

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[26] *Ibid.*, f. 31. (16 of June, 1591).
[27] *Ibid.*, f. 43–B. (10 Sept., 1591).
[28] Cheyney, *op. cit.* I, p. 536 (*Madre de Dios* captured 1592).
[29] *Jor.* 23 f. 289 (A. of C. C. July 15, 1594).
[30] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 105; f. 124.

cil passed whatever legislation it considered necessary to conduct the business efficiently. The problem of auditing the accounts was always handled by the appointment of a special committee for the purpose. The act for January, 1590, appointed a committee of thirteen "for the auditinge and endinge of the marine causes" and gave power to the bailiffs, William Lathes, and William Ravencroste, to commit any of the said committee to ward in one of the compters of the city upon the commandment of the Lord Mayor if they did not "meete and ioyne togeather with the rest of the comittyes appoyncted for that cause uppon lawfull warninge to them to be geyven."[31]

Auditing Committees

The similar act for 30 July, 1596, besides appointing the customary auditing committee of thirteen, provided that a "Register booke of all Subsidies, fifteens, and other charges and imposicions which shall be graunted by Acte of Com. Councill . . . for any cause concerning as well her Majesties service as otherwise" should be kept for all time in the chamber of London.[32]

In the following January, the Lord Mayor was instructed by the Court of Aldermen to call before him the general auditing committee and "examine how far they [had] proceeded" in thier accounts.[33] This was followed, in February, with a provision that the auditing committee should "henceforth meet at the Lord Maiors howse every Wensdaie and Fridaie in the afternoones and. . .call before them all such persons as have bene collectors, Thresorers, or receavors. . .sithence Anno 88 and. . .make an exact certificat of their doings. . .to this courte."[34] By 1602 the problem of auditing the various accounts had become so troublesome that a paid general auditor for all the accounts and assessments was appointed, one "Francys Philippes." The Court of Aldermen provided that he should receive

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[31] *Rep.* 22 f. 132; (15 ot Jan., 1589–90). *Ibid.*, f. 42 (8 Apr., 1589). *Jor.* 24 f. 144–B. (3 July, 1596), *Rep.* 24 f. 20 (10 Jan., 1597–8); *ibid.*, f. 39 (28 Feb., 1597–8).

[32] *Jor.* 24 f. 144-B (A. of C. C. 30 July, 1596).

[33] *Rep.* 24 f. 20 (Jan. 10, 39 Eliz.).

[34] *Ibid.*, f. 39 (28 Feb., 1596–7).

£33, 6s., 8d. per year to be paid ½ yearly by the treasurers appointed out of the special sums collected.[35]

Miscellaneous City Legislation for Collection of Money

Besides the auditing acts, there was a good deal of miscellaneous legislation bearing on the collection of the money. When, for instance, the Common Council appointed treasurers for receipt and payment of the assessment from the companies in June of 1591, it was further ordered that neither of them should "disburse or pay out any parte of the saide some for performance of the service aforesaid But by warrant in writing to be directed unto them from the said committees under theire handes or any six or more of them at the least."[36]

In January of 1593, the council provided that if any persons owing money for any levy from 1588 on had died without paying their assessment, a special committee of four men or any three of them should be empowered to call before them the "Executors and Administrators . . . of such personns . . . and compell them to accompte and Reckon in such sorte as by vertew hereof they might doe with the Testator . . . if he or they weare lyvinge."[37]

The 1595–6 levy called forth an act for the more "uniforme order throughout the whole cyttie" [in collecting the charge for] "furnishing of hir Majestie service by Land or Sea. . . . forasmuch as yt evidentlie appeareth to this Court that many and sundrie inconveinences have heretofore growen. . . .by reason that the Defrayeing of the mony and chardge for furnishing and setting forth soldiers. . . .have beene confusedlie handled in most of the wardes of the cyttie." Thereupon the council reenacted the rules for providing special committees for these purposes "to whom all moneys for the service should be payed" either as a body or else to a treasurer appointed by the committees from among themselves. No money should be dis-

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[35] *Ibid.*, 25 f. 325 (15 Jan., 1601–02).
[36] *Jor.* 23 f. 31 (A. of C. C. 16 June, 1591).
[37] *Ibid.*, f. 163–B (A. of C. C. Jan. 23, 1592–3).

bursed or paid out except by such warrant or order as the committees should from time to time issue.[38]

An act for the 27th of May of the same year provided that any collector who was "carelesse" or "negligent" or who should "willfullie refuse" to collect the money alloted to him, and any constable who upon request refused to aid any collector in his duties, should be open to arrest by the Lord Mayor and confinement in one of the compters of the city, "theare to remaine". Furthermore, "any trouble or chardge which should happene to arise to the Lord Mayor" by such an arrest was to "be borne at the charges of the city."[39]

In March of 1596, a committee of nine was appointed, any four of whom should have the power "to peruse all the bookes and extracts of this present assessment." They were to find out whether any persons had been "Loste out of the said Assessment" or "rated at any Lesser sommes then they were taxed at the Laste Subsidie for her Majestie," and make a report of their findings to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen in writing.[40]

Work of Marine Committee in Equipping Ships

Besides such legislation to insure the proper collection of the money needed, the Common Council and the Court of Aldermen also supervised the work of the Committee for Marine Causes, in providing and equipping the actual ships. When 6 ships and a pinnace were to be provided for the Queen in 1591, the city's Court of Aldermen not only appointed a committee of eighteen men to "devise and sett downe howe the same may be manned victualled and furnysshed," but also chose from the committee two groups of five each and instructed them further in their duties. The first group, or any four of them were "presentlye to goe downe the ryver of Thames and survey sixe shippes and one pynnesse fytt for the sayde servyce and also to treate with the owners upon thexchanginge for shippe hire, and to make reporte to the reste of

[38] *Letter Book AB.* f. 290–B (21 March, 37 Eliz.).
[39] *Ibid.*, f. 331 (A. of C. C., 27 May, 37 Eliz.).
[40] *Jor.* 24 f. 105–B (A. of C. C., 24 Mar., 1595–6).

the Comittee of their doinge therein." The second group "with the assistance of Mr. Chamberlain" were "presentlye to meete and devise and sett downe artycles touching the furnishing victualling and mannyinge of the sayde shippes and pynasse, and to reporte their doing therein to thereste of the committee so that the Lorde Maior and the Courte of Alderman might be certified thereof," on the following day.[41] After the preliminary bargaining was done, it was the Common Council which decided how much should be offered the ship owner and which signed the final contract. In the levy of 1594, the Committee for Marine Causes was authorized by the council to meet the ship owners "for concluding with them that they for the some of £5,000. . .shall and will furnish and sett forth such and soe many shippes and Pinnasses as this citie yelded unto for her Majestie service . . ."[42] and "the said committees, or anie tenn or more of them, to present their agreement in writing under their handes to the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen. And that after suche full agreement, it shalbe lawfull to the Chamberlain to sett the common seale of this cittie to the one part thereof."[43]

Likewise the Common Council guaranteed their committees against loss. The committee in charge of the 1596 levy of 12 ships and 2 pinnaces were allowed their own "discreacions" in making agreements "with the owners of Shipps to be vitlers and setters forth of them providers of men and furnishers of all things Whatsoever" but nevertheless the city stood behind them and guaranteed that they should be "saved harmeles for their doinge therein" and furthermore "that good and true payments" should be made "by this citie to all and every such person and persons as they or the more parte of them shall in this behalfe agree and compounde with, accordinge to such warrantes as they or any six of them. . .shall from time to time giue to be paide uppon the Treasorers."[44]

In 1601, the Queen asked the city for 2 galleys for defense of

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[41] *Rep.* 22 f. 284–B (14 June, 1591).
[42] *Jor.* 23 f. 293; (Sharpe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 552, Names and tonnage). *Remembrancia* II, 36.
[43] *Jor.* 23 f. 293A. (A. of C. C. 18 July, 1594).
[44] *Jor.* 24 f. 95 (28 Feb., 1595–6).

the Thames. In order to gratify her wish, the ships had to be built speedily and a special committee of five men were appointed to oversee the work. On February 27, 1601, this committee sent in an elaborate report to the Court of Aldermen. They stated that they had had many conferences with certain shipwrights, had finally placed out the building of the galleys and had drawn indentures of covenants between the parties on the one side and the chamberlain for the city on the other. They now recommended that for the furtherance of the building, two men skilled in the building of ships be appointed to follow the work, the city to give them "some reasonable consideracion" for their time and labor. The committee further stated that a sum of at least £2,600 be made ready to pay for "the Timber planks, Iron Works and wages weekely to be paied to the workmen which of necessitye must be paied." The report was accepted in its entirety and entered in the city *Repertory*.[45]

For more than a year following this report, the minutes of the Court of Aldermen are full of detailed instructions with regard to the galleys. The contracts were given out in February[46] under the authority of the aldermen, with the chamberlain, as usual, representing the city. In June, the chamberlain and committee were instructed to call before them the carpenters and workmen and take their accounts for work on the galleys. All bills of charges were to be signed from time to time by the committee and presented to the Lord Mayor. A warrant under the hand of the Lord Mayor was to be a sufficient discharge to the treasurer for payment of the needed sums.[47] A note on the 7th of July ordered "that all the cordage lying in Blackwelhall and likewise the olde Tente" belonging to the city should be "ymployed towardes the furnishing of the two new galleys."[48] A further order on the 28th of the same month instructed them that the "defective leather seized at Leadenhall by searchers"

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[45] *Rep.* 25 f. 198–B; 199 (27 Feb., 1600–1).
[46] *Ibid.*, f. 198 (Feb., 1600–1).
[47] *Ibid.*, f. 247–B (30 June, 1601).
[48] *Ibid.*, f. 249 (7 July, 1601).
[49] *Ibid.*, f. 262–B (28 July, 1601).

was likewise to be so used.[49] Even with these economies the completed ships cost the city £3,200.[50]

The relations between the city authorities and the ship owners were not always of the happiest. In the contract of 1594,[51] 6 ships and 2 pinnaces were to be supplied to the city for £5,000, the understood time of service being three months. The Queen kept the ships somewhat over the allotted time,[52] and a hot dispute arose between the London authorities and the ship owners as to who should bear the extra expense.[53] On the 25th of December, the Court of Aldermen decreed that "ffor the present appeasing of the Controversie betwene the cittie and the contractors," the Lord Mayor and three others of the city's prominent men had agreed "to lend and dysburse 200 pounds" to the contractors for the discharge and payment of the captains, mariners and sailors. In consideration thereof, the contractors agreed to refer the case to the judgment of a committee composed of Sir John Hawkins, Sir John Harte, Thomas Ffleming, Recorder of the City, and William Burrows, Esquire, "whether the Cittie ought to beare the charge of the overplus of the said service or that the Contractors ought to beare yt at their charges inclusyve in fyve thowsand poundes." If the decision went against the contractors they were to repay the £200, "or so much thereof as by the said Arbitrators shalbe adjudged". If the committee found that "nether the cittie nor the contractors ought to paie the said charge" then the city and they were "to ioyne as humble suitors to her Majestie for the same." If, in this case, the Queen refused "to geve allowance therefore" then the city was to pay the contractors "such moneyes as they shall duly prove they shall disburse" over and above the £200 which they were to retain. The dispute was called to the attention of the Queen's Privy Council, which decided unconditionally in favor of the contractors that they were not bound to "defray any further charge. . .then for three monethes onely" and ordered the Lord Mayor by letter to give order to pay them

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[50] *Remembrancia* II, 204.
[51] *Jor.* 23 f. 293 (18 July, 1594); *cf.* above, p. 56.
[52] Began service, 12 Aug., 1594.
[53] *Rep.* 23 f. 333 (23 Dec., 1594).

"so much as is in arrear and due unto them without any further delay that neither hir Majestie nor ourselves bee further importuned with their clamour."[54] Two months later, the Court of Aldermen ordered the city chamberlain to pay to the owners of the ships for victuals and tonnage £300 or as much thereof as the contracting committee should direct.[55]

The local officials both in London and the port towns seem to have had considerable difficulty in keeping the ship owners and artisans down to reasonable rates. In December of 1595 when London was preparing 12 ships and 2 pinnaces for the Queen, the Common Council secured the promise of the Queen's Privy Council to give the city a commission to impress the ships by the authority of the Queen and at the "Queen's ordinarie price." In the letter reminding the Privy Council of its promise and asking for the commission, the city stated that it intended to use the authority "in yt moderate sort as not to urge the benefit thearof to ye most advantage nor to drive ye owners to any extremite but to bring them to soom moderation and reasonable agreement who otherwise wee doubt will stand us upon verie hard and unreasonable conditions to ye great hinderance of ye said service."[56]

The same problem, in even more aggravated form, faced the smaller towns, and like London, they too, went to the Privy Council for help. Bristol when asked for 3 ships with munition and victuals for five months petitioned the Council to grant their "honorable Warrantes unto suche persons as we shall Imploye to provide Corne, victuall, and other necessaries for this Service at reasonable prices, as also to presse and appoynte Captaynes, Souldiours, Marriners, Gonners and carpenters for these Shippes."[57]

On the other hand, the Privy Council insisted that all bills incurred in the process of providing ships should be paid. Letters reprimanding officials on the score of delinquent accounts were

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[54] *Remembrancia* II; 42 (Privy Council to Mayor, 24 Dec., 1594).
[55] *Rep.* 23 f. 359–B (20 Feb. 1594–5).
[56] *Remembrancia* II, 145. (7 Feb., 1595–6).
[57] *Lans. MSS.* LXXX, 39 (Jan. 8, 1595–6).

frequent.[58] Also more active measures were sometimes taken as in the following situation in Cornwall. It seemed that upon the authority of the Council's letters to the towns of Ffoy and Lowe, one John Rashley had "dysbursed the some of 6 hundred poundes for the settinge forthe furnishinge and victuallinge of one shipp and a pynnace." Of this he had received from the two towns by contribution only £100. The Council now required the Deputy Lieutenants of Cornwall to have the remaining £500 "by an equall taxe laied on soche townes and hundrethes as are nere adioyninge and. . .profitted by the trade of the saide Townes levyed and paied out unto the said Rashley. . .with all convenient expedicon."[59]

1603 Plan for Central Committee in London

The proposal in 1603 for a general treasurer in London and a central committee there to supervise the practical work of supplying the ships, was doubtless intended as a corrective to the tendency of local officials in the provinces to refer back to the Privy Council every disputed detail connected with the levies. Even London had appealed again and again to its authority. A committee working in London under the direct control of the crown would, conceivably, have no trouble in engaging ships and workmen at "her Majestie's ordinarie price." Certainly, by such an arrangement, the very great delay entailed in handling disputes in shipping localities at considerable distance from London would be eliminated. Of these disputes, that between Ipswich with its neighboring coast towns and the inland sections of Suffolk was the most prolonged. Beginning in January of 1596 with the suggestion of Ipswich that the inland districts be included in its assessment,[60] the quarrel hung on in various phases till April of 1599.[61] It centered around the question whether the inland ports of Suffolk should pay ⅓ or ½ of the total amount of the cost of the 2 ships supplied by Ipswich. As early as March of 1596, the Privy

[58] *Cf.* below Suffolk Quarrel, p. 60 ff. *Add. MSS.* 34, 564 (17 Oct., 1598).
[59] *S. P. D. E.* CCXII, 45. (July 14, 1588).
[60] *B. M. Add. MSS.* 34, 564, f. 1–B ff.
[61] *Ibid.*, f. 8 and 9.

Council had ordered the county to pay the full half[62] but the county lieutenants countered with a charge against Ipswich of "crooked measures" and false accounts. Twice, at least,[63] the Privy Council wrote to Sir Robert Jermyn and Sir Nicholas Bacon, the deputy lieutenants in question, strongly rebuking them for hindering rather than aiding the Queen's service, and at last ordering them to answer for their conduct in person before the Council. Meanwhile the Council was itself importuned by ship owners and mariners[64] engaged by Ipswich for the service and still unpaid. When the Lieutenants of Suffolk appeared before the Council in April of 1597, they were sufficiently persuasive to gain for the county an abatement of £200 from the former assessment of one-half the whole charge.[65] After this second decision of the Council, the quarrel confined itself largely to letters between the bailiffs of Ipswich and the lieutenants of the county, the one side demanding that the money assigned by the Council be collected in the county, and the other promising to produce it as soon as they were able if only Ipswich would not again send word to the Lords of the Privy Council.[66]

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[62] *Ibid.*, f. 6.
[63] *Ibid.*, f. 7 (Letter to Sir Nicholas Bacon from Jermyn). (Letters from Council, 22 Nov.,1596; 20 Mar., 1596–7.)
[64] *Ibid.* (17 Oct., 1596).
[65] *Ibid.* (22 Apr., 1597).
[66] *Ibid.*, f. 7, 8, 9 (6 Nov.; 30 of Dec., 1597; 5 of Apr., 1599).

V

Difficulty of Collecting Money for Ship Levies in the Provinces. (1588–1603)

This dispute in Suffolk furnishes an excellent example of the hopeless friction between the inland and port districts, their lack of responsibility in paying owners and mariners promptly and the Privy Council's difficulty in controlling the situation from London. It also shows the extreme reluctance of the people both in the port towns and in the inland regions to contribute the money assessed for the ships. In August of 1596, the Council wrote to the bailiffs of Ipswich that they had been informed that certain inhabitants of the coast towns were refusing to pay the money assessed upon them. Bonds were to be taken of these to appear before the Council and if any refused to give bond he was to be imprisoned. Also the bailiffs were to send to the Council a list of the names of those persons refusing, of the sums required of them, of their general wealth, and of their reasons for refusing.[1] A second instruction[2] to send up to London those refusing to contribute followed in October. Of the £500 finally settled on the county, the lieutenants were able in November of 1597 to collect only £136.[3] In December, Ipswich was still demanding of the smaller towns in its group a list of those evading the assessment.[4]

Such refusal and delay in contributing the money assessed was a familiar part of every ship levy from 1588 to the end of the reign, and increased rather than diminished, both in London and the provinces. The undoubted advancement made by

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[1] *Add. MSS.* 34, 564 (Aug. 22, 1596).
[2] *Ibid.*, f. 7 (17 Oct., 1596).
[3] *Ibid.*, f. 8–B (Nov., 1597).
[4] *Ibid.*, f. 9 (30 Dec., 1597).

Elizabeth's government in the use of the ship levy, followed the lines of (1) extension over a larger territory; (2) more frequent use of money contributions as distinct from ships, and (3) a closer and more central organization. All these gains were discernible in the 1603 plan with Cecil's attached schedule.[5] But it is also important that the same proposal provided that all contributions to the scheme were to be "voluntary" only. The forced assessments for the ship levies as used between 1588 and 1602 had never been popular with the country at large, and were often met by transparent evasions, or open refusals on the part of various towns, counties, groups and individuals.

Claims for Exemption in 1588

The ship levy of 1588 came at a time of very real national crisis, and resulted in an addition of over 80 ships to the Queen's fleet, manned, equipped and provisioned for a varying length of time by the maritime districts.[6] But even with the Invincible Armada an imminent danger the response of many districts to the Council's letters was reluctant, and petitions to be entirely excused from the service were not infrequent. The town of Poole, for example, when asked by the crown for a ship of 60 tons and a pinnace, replied that the town was utterly decayed by reason of embargoes, want of traffic, losses at sea, and pirates. Furthermore, the inhabitants had been at great charge in making necessary provision for defense against the enemy and found themselves utterly unable to perform their Lordship's commandment. The letter ended with a petition to be discharged of the service, at the same time expressing the wish that they "were as able as willing in all dutiful and obedient services as becometh good and faithful subjects."[7] The Privy Council's request had been made upon the grounds that "her Majestie doth understand that there are a good number of very apt and serviceable ships and vessels appertaining"[8] to the town of Poole. This assumption the town of Poole now

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[5] *Cf.* above, p. 32; p. 44.
[6] *Cf.* above, p. 22 ff.
[7] K. L. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 130. (Modern spelling used) *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 70.
[8] *Cf.* above, p. 15; *Cott. MSS. Otho.* E. IX, 144. (Certificate of Shipping.)

completely denied and asserted instead that there was "but one ship in this harbour at this present above the burden of three score ton."[9] This discrepancy between the Council's belief and the town's assertion as to the amount of shipping was by no means limited to Poole, and was the more extraordinary when one recalls that the basis for the government's charge lay in the certificates of shipping required to be sent up almost yearly from the maritime towns to the Council.[10]

In the same Armada year, the letter of Sir George Carey, Captain of the Isle of Wight, to Walsingham, protesting the inability of that island to provide the Queen with one ship and a pinnace was couched in much more outspoken words than the letter of Poole to the Council. After stating that the island was "utterly unprovided of any warlike ships or vessels fit for employment in such services", he continued,—"I have thought it fit first to advertise your Honour of the error of that information . . . before I would terrify the minds of this country with so great a charge neither usual nor accustomed, which might breed discontentment and work no effect seeing they continue the burden of continual charge in their daily preparations for defense of this place." In conclusion he added that if the lords nevertheless desired that the ship be equipped by the Isle of Wight they should send him further direction "whether by way of subsidy, or in what sort this charge intended should be levied; being of opinion that my authority will neither stretch to charge them with a matter of so great innovation, nor that it may be done without the general taxation of the island, which I conceive is not meant, in respect the like is not done by the inland men of the mainland."[11]

Barnstable, assessed for 2 ships and a pinnace, replied on the 8th of April, 1588, that they had humbly considered the command and begged to be excused inasmuch as the town was reduced to poverty by the Spanish war and had gained nothing by reprisal.[12] Southampton likewise refused, on the ground of

[9] K. L. *op. cit.*, I, p. 130. (Modern spelling used) *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 70.
[10] *Cf.* above, p. 15.
[11] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 71 (April 6, 1588) (K. L. *op. cit.*, I, 131–133. Modernized spelling).
[12] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 77 (Apr. 8, 1588).

poverty. In their letter to the Council the mayor and aldermen stated that after due consideration they had found that the charge of the 2 ships and one pinnace required of them for 2 months would amount to about £500. And continued, "Your Lordships will best consider the insufficiency of this place to furnish so great a charge as five hundred pounds when the whole subsidy within the same doth not amount to above £120 and that gathered with much difficulty and murmurs of the people; who, besides the said subsidy have been of late charged with the provision of certain powder and other munition to the sum of £250 . . . and now lately charged with reparations about the town upon the sea banks."[13]

On April 7th, Kingston-on-Hull wrote the Privy Council that it regretted very much not being able to furnish its quota of "2 serviceable and good ships" and 1 pinnace, but that all the mariners of the town had already been pressed to serve in her Majesty's navy, and all "the best ships meet for the service [were] "abroad in parts beyond the sea and at London."[14] Scarcely three weeks later, however, they wrote again to the Council in a very different tone. Though still insisting that their previous letter had stated the exact truth at that time, the mayor and burgesses were nevertheless greatly grieved at the Council's "misliking" of their certificate. They hastened to assure the lords that since ships and mariners had now returned from New Castle and London they had already appointed for the service the 2 ships and 1 pinnace assessed by the Council upon the town, and furthermore had set to work on them all the ships carpenters in the town or in any place within twenty miles in order that they should be ready by the 25th of April, the time appointed by the Council.[15]

Many ports which did not refuse outright to meet the Council's

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[13] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 97 (Apr. 17, 1588); K. L., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 155–59. (Modernized spelling.)
[14] *Ibid.*, 75 (7 Apr., 1588); K. L. I, pp. 135–136.
[15] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 101; K. L., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 161–63.

assessment, asked either that the amount required of them be lessened, or that adjoining towns and the county at large be required to help them. To this group belonged Lyme Regis, which, with its neighboring towns of Chard and Axminster, sought to involve the counties of Dorset, Somerset and Devon in its charge.[16] So also did Weymouth, assessed for 2 ships and 1 pinnace. It made ready 1 ship and a pinnace, and petitioned the Council that inasmuch as the charge was very great and "the benefit general to inhabitants out of this place" it should partly recompense them "by adding some townships near adjoining to be contributory towards the same."[17] On the 2nd of May, Exeter wrote that they had prepared the ships required of them, but because of the poverty of the town they desired that "The townes and parishes adioyninge to the Sea costes or port of Exeter and not distant from the same above the nomber of 12 miles maie severally beare there moitie of the charge."[18] King's Lynn stated that the coast towns of Cley, Wiveton, Wells and Blakeney situated nearby refused to contribute with Lynn, and asked that the Council send orders to them to join in the contribution, and also to the dealers in merchandise and marine causes in the towns near adjacent though not on the coast.[19]

Claims for Aid from Neighboring Localities in 1588

When the Privy Council acceded to these petitions, as was generally the case,[20] the newly assessed districts in their turn frequently evaded the assessments or complained to the Council of their inability to pay. The towns around Exeter and Topsham refused to contribute until special letters from the Council directed to each of them individually were sent down.[21] Even after the Council had authorized a general levy, Exeter found difficulty in obtaining the money from the county lieutenants.

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[16] *Ibid.*, 81; (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 138); *ibid.*, CCXVI, 27; (K. L. II, p. 232) *Cf.* above, p. 41.
[17] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 94; (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 151).
[18] *Lans. MSS.* LVI, 61.
[19] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 87 (Apr. 12, 1588) (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 144).
[20] *Cf.* above, p. 41.
[21] *S. P. D. E.* CCIX, 84 (Apr. 11, 1588), (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 143).

These alleged that "by meanes of certain lettres . . . for exemption of the Tynners from any payemente towardes this charge they [the lieutenants] [could not] procede to there intended collecion by meanes the Tynners, being dispersed into many partes of the Shire, the example of one refusinge will promote many to be wilfull."[22] Colchester had found a similar difficulty. Having procured letters of assessment from the Privy Council to the neighboring towns of Coggeshall, Dedham, and Eastbargholt, and having delivered them, Colchester was met with a complete refusal to comply and with the statement on the part of the new towns that they would themselves petition the Council to be excused from the service.[23] A few days later Eastbargholt presented its plea to the Council for discharge on the ground of devastating poverty due to the recent prohibition against transporting Suffolk cloth, which trade had been the mainstay of the town.[24] Orford and Dunwich, towns in Suffolk subsidiary to Ipswich, wrote the Council protesting their extreme charge and asking their Lordships to address their letters "to such knights and worshipful gentlemen" as were near the coast towns and knew the real conditions, that they might impose the charge for each town with fairness.[25]

Delay of Individuals in Making Payments in 1588

Most of the protests against the ship levy in 1588 came from the towns or counties as corporate bodies, and were suppressed or adjusted by the Council's authority. But occasionally in the correspondence with the Council appeared indications of recalcitrant individuals, who after the locality had accepted the levy, still refused. Lyme complained that after a conference with Axminster and Chard in which it was decided that the whole charge of the levy should be born by those persons that were "set in subsidy to her Majestie proportionably," certain persons of Axminster of "sufficient

[22] *Ibid.*, CCXII, 53 (July 16, 1588).
[23] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 93 (Apr. 16, 1588).
[24] *Ibid.*, 102 (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 163).
[25] *Ibid.*, 96 (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 154).

ability" and assessed accordingly, refused. Lyme wished the Council to take "further direction" concerning them.[26] The same situation arose in Ipswich. The bailiffs "found some very unwilling to contribute" and desired instructions from the Council "what order should be taken with such persons."[27] One of these delinquents of Ipswich, "a gentleman an inhabitant of the town, one Ralph Morrys, and a man of sufficient ability to bear the burden and charge set upon him . . . most obstinately refused to pay his said rate . . . to the evil examples of others. . . ." Whereupon the officials of Ipswich bound him by the sum of 100 Marks to make his personal appearance before the Lords of the Council on St. Mark's day next following and await their order.[28]

Answers to Request for Revictualling in 1588

The request from the Queen in July of 1588 that the ships already supplied by the towns should be re-victualled by them for an extra two months was acceeded to almost universally, albeit grudgingly. The Mayor of Bristol replied that its inhabitants would "strain themselves" for two months more of victualling. In the same abstract of the answers of the mayors of the coast towns to the Privy Council which contained Bristol's reply, the towns of Lyme, Exeter, Totnes and Plymouth were listed as complying.[29] Lyme complained, however, that Axminster and Chard assessed with it had refused to help in both the original and this last victualling. The town of Saltash replied simply that the Privy Council had accepted £150 from its inhabitants as a discharge from all manner of charges for victualling and that this money had been paid.

As the ship levies became more frequent and the danger of

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[26] *Ibid.*, LXXXI (Apr. 9, 1588) (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 139).
[27] *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII (12 Apr., 1588) (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 147).
[28] *Ibid.*, CCIX, 100 (Apr. 19, 1588) (K. L., *op. cit.*, I, p. 161).
[29] *Ibid.*, CXII, 43, 8.

invasion less apparent, the reluctance to pay the assessments naturally grew greater. The next large levy came in 1596, and was met with numerous evasions and attempts at refusal throughout the provinces. Many of the arguments put forth as good cause for exemption were merely repetitions of those used in 1588. Towns and counties pleaded poverty and decay, the burden of other taxes, the unfair apportionment of the assessments. In the quarrel between Suffolk and Ipswich already discussed in detail,[30] it will be remembered that the county in particular tried very hard to evade the Council's explicit instructions on the ground of the unfairness of the distribution of the charge. Southampton, assessed in 1596 for 2 ships, pled inability to comply with the Council's demands because of its poverty; the answer of the Council was to order the Isle of Wight to help.[31] In June of 1597, the Somerset money for the Bristol group was still unpaid. Here, however, the Council was tolerant of the delay because the lords knew the county to be in a "hardway" from a recent food shortage.[32]

Delay of Individuals After 1588

There appeared also, in the course of the 1596 levy, occasional persons who refused with such obduracy to pay their individual assessments that they came to the attention of the Privy Council. The answer of the Council in these cases was always the same. If they continued to refuse, the recalcitrant persons were to be bound over to appear at court. Such orders were given to the Mayor of Exeter[33] and the Deputy Lieutenants of Dorset.[34] In two instances, at least, the threat was actually enforced and the men "made answer" to the Council for their refusals. In the case of Robert Barker, of Ipswich, the motivating reason for his refusal was a purely local one. The town of Ipswich owed him more money than the total of his assessment for the ship levy. He yielded to the order of the Council to pay his rate, and the Council in turn ordered the town to pay him.[35] The

[30] *Cf.* above, p. 60 ff.
[31] *A. of P. C.*, 1595–96, p. 162.
[32] *Ibid.*, 1597, p. 192 (June 14).
[33] *Ibid.*, 1595–96, p. 299.
[34] *Ibid.*, 1597, p. 152.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 236 (June 23).

reasons for refusing which "Richard Carrier of South Lynne within the jurisdiction of King's Lynne, and within the countie of Norfolke, gentleman" may have given before the Council on his appearance there on the 24th day of June, 1596, unfortunately do not appear in the records. The *Register of the Council* simply states that he "voluntarily made his appearance . . . and is enjoyned to attend upon the Lords of the Counsell until he receave order for dismission."[36]

Defiance of Norfolk and West Riding of York in 1596

Intermingled, however, with the more or less routine cases of poverty or local dissension, there appeared during the course of the 1596 levy several significant objections to the assessment made on the ground of inland situation and an implied violation of constitutional rights. One can hardly say that at this juncture the constitutional aspects of the extension inland of the ship levy were in any way clearly apprehended, or objection to it on this score definitely formulated and organized. Rather was it an ominous grumbling on the part of a few of the more isolated localities against the growing tendency on the part of the crown, backed by the port towns, to consider the ship levy a "charge for the public service of the realme" and therefore to be borne by the whole realm. Conspicuous among the vaguely rebellious districts were Norfolk, and the West Riding of York, in both of which counties the lieutenants and their deputies upheld the local point of view against the crown's. In June of 1597, more than a year after the levy had been made, the Privy Council wrote to the Deputy Lieutenants of Norfolk, reminding them that thei quota was still unpaid, and stating that the Council understood that the fault lay with the constables of the hundreds. Th lieutenants were to correct this situation and collect the money.[37] Six months later, however, the Council found it necessary to write the Norfolk officials again. Word had come that much of the money had not even been collected by some of the justices,

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[36] *Ibid.*, 1595–96, p. 489 (June 24, 1596).
[37] *Ibid.*, 1597, p. 285 (12 July).

"which," said the Council, "cannot be but a wilfull purpose of some of the Justices to withstand our orders."[38] Unfortunately, the *Register of the Privy Council* does not continue the Norfolk case further. It is to be supposed that eventually the county submitted and paid its quota of the levy.

In the case of the West Riding of York, the friction reached a more decided crisis. Here again, it was the local officials who led the dissenting group. From the very beginning of the 1596 levy, the city of York had been reluctant to be drawn into the charge for ships. It had tried to be excused on the grounds of its inland situation and its exemption in 1588. The Council's reply to York's plea was that "the Queen does not a lettle mervail hereat," considering the prosperity of York, the benefit it derived from commerce, and the general need of the realm.[39] Thereupon, York itself submitted, but the more remote parts of the county, also included in the levy, were more obdurate. On the 30th of October, 1597, the Council wrote to the officials of the West Riding reminding them, that despite divers letters from the Council, and an explicit order from the Archbishop and the Council of York, the money which the West Riding owed to York and Hull was still unpaid. The Council was now giving further order for its collection.[40] In the following February, the Council ordered four of the esquires of the West Riding of Yorkshire "to be present and to give your attendance by the tenth of March next at what tyme you shall farther understand what is to be said unto you." The reason for the summons was the dissatisfaction of the Council with their answers to an inquiry concerning the delay in the West Riding contribution.[41] In April of the same year, the Council sent out an open letter addressed to the "Justices of the West Riding of York where the money is still unpaid." The letter stated in considerable detail the situation in the West Riding, accusing the people at large of "general and wide-spread dissatisfaction," and the justices of having refused to do their duty. The letter continued, "You

[38] *Ibid.*, 1597–98, p. 188 (18 Dec., 1597).
[39] *Ibid.*, 1595–96, p. 210 (Feb. 8, 1596).
[40] *Ibid.*, 1597–98, p. 66 (30 Oct., 1597).
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 319 (19 Feb., 1598).

have eluded our earnest direction by dilatory, frivolous, and framed excuses, some of you having proceeded so far as to call in question by what authority in those public actions that concern the defense of the realme soche contributions be demanded." The letter concluded by stating that eleven justices and Sir John Saville had been examined by the Council, had retracted their rebellious sentiments and were now ready to collect the money. The open letter from the Council was to announce this resolution to the county at large and once more to order the collection of the money.[42] This letter closed the case as far as letters from the Council went, and in all probability the money, two years overdue, was then collected. A note exists among the *State Papers*, however, for April of 1598, which bears indirectly upon the situation. In December of 1597, Hull was asked to supply 2 ships. In the April following, the authorities of Hull wrote to advertise Cecil, "of gentlemen in Yorkshire who have not levied the charges for the two ships set out by Hull last December."[43] By this one would judge that the Council had not entirely succeeded in quelling York's resistance to inclusion in the ship levy.

This delinquency of the northern counties in 1596 represents the most outspoken protest against the ship levy made by the inland districts during Elizabeth's reign. Between 1588 and 1596 no large levy had been demanded and though there were a few protests from such towns[44] as were asked to contribute, there was nothing to compare in importance to the 1596 situation in either the demands made or the protests voiced. After 1596, with the notable exception of the 1603 proposal, the Queen restricted her demands largely to London. Consequently, it is in that city's records that we can trace most satisfactorily the growing dislike of the crown's demands for ships.

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[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 400–02 (Apr. 14, 1598).
[43] *C. S. P. D.*, 1598–1601, p. 188.
[44] *Cal. Hatfield MSS. Add.* XIII, pp. 450, 451; protest of Lyme Regis (June 25, 1591).

VI

Difficulty of collecting Money for Ship Levies in London

1588–1603

Throughout Elizabeth's reign, the position of London with regard to the ship levies was unique. The wealthiest city in England and the largest port, it was far more frequently called upon to help the crown with shipping than the other ports and the more inland sections of the country. Eight times in the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, excluding the great levy for defense against the Armada, London was asked "for some manner of shipping" to aid the Queen. Only once, in December of 1596, did the city government unconditionally refuse to meet the Queen's request. It did not scruple, however, to use the Queen's need to gain concessions for the city, and once at least, it gave her fewer ships than she had originally requested. And always, even when the city as a corporate body was most willing to give the desired shipping, there were individuals and special groups who, upon one pretext or another, evaded or refused to pay their assessment for the levy.

Delay of Individuals in Making Payments in 1588

Even in the Armada year the London records show that the city government had to deal with persons who, though assessed, refused to pay. The first instruction to the aldermen regarding the assessment for the ship levy contained a formal clause to destra in the goods or commit to prison the persons of all those who, assessed by the aldermen, should refuse to contribute.[1] The prison later designated was Newgate and the additional instruction was given to hold all

[1] *Jor.* 22 f. 173–B (April 4, 1588).

delinquents without "baile or mayneprise".[2] On the 11th of September an order for the collectors of the assessment to meet the auditors contained also an instruction that the collectors make a true certificate of the names and surnames of all those who refused to pay, and furthermore that they summon such persons to appear before the general auditors.[3] The Act of Common Council for the 25th of September contained a similar provision with the modification that upon just complaint having been made to the committee of an unfair assessment, the committee or any four of them, could either lessen the amount due or abolish it altogether.[4] Two special collectors appointed in the following month of January to deal with those who had not yet paid their assessment were given the power to imprison any who should still refuse.[5] A like enactment was repeated on the 31st of March.[6] There are no lists of individuals so imprisoned to be found in the records for 1588, but legislation threatening such action for continued refusal to pay the 1588 assessment continued to be passed at irregular intervals for the next five years.[7] On the 12th of April 1593, the situation seemed to be much what it had been in the summer of 1588. A committee was appointed to require all those still owing on the 1588 levy to pay the money for which each had been assessed. All who refused were to be brought before the Lord Mayor who was to commit them to ward in one of the compters until they paid. Foreigners who refused were to be bonded to appear before the Privy Council.

London's Answer to Revictualling in 1588

London's reply to the Queen's request in July of 1588 that the ships already supplied by the city should be revictualled for another two months was on the whole favorable. The committee for the purpose, through the authority of the London Common Council, was instructed to promise victuals for one month more over and above the three months already agreed upon.[8] But very significantly, upon the same

[2] *Ibid.* f 200–B (Aug. 10, 1588).
[3] *Ibid.* f. 204 (Sept. 11, 1588).
[4] *Ibid.* f. 210–B (Sept. 25, 1588).
[5] *Rep.* 22 f. 23 (9 Jan., 31 Eliz.).
[6] *Jor.* 22 f. 277–B (31 Mar. 1589).
[7] *Rep.* 22 f. 93–B; 117–B; f. 157–B; f. 197–B. *Jor.* 23 f. 4. *Rep.* 23 f. 51.
[8] *Jor.* 22 f. 193 (16 July, 1588).

day the city also sent a committee of three to wait upon the court "towchinge the newe Vyctualinge of the Cyttyes Shippes and also to move her highnes most honorable pryvye Councell to procure securytye and assurance from her Majestie for such lands of the Cyttye as weare pretended to be concealed."[9] By this adroit combination London sought to measure favor for favor and by taking advantage of the Queen's immediate need, gain for itself a settlement of the question of the concealed lands, an irritating problem growing out of recent absorption of ecclesiastical holdings by the State.

Refusal of London in 1596

The Queen's request in December of 1596, the second within the year, that London should provide her with more ships, was met with a point-blank refusal. In the previous December, that of 1595, the Queen had asked the city for "sixteene shippes fully furnished for service by Sea"[10], to which request the city had replied after due consideration and conference with the Privy Council that it would provide the queen with 12 ships and 2 pinnaces "fitt and hable for her Majestie's service".[11] The Queen's answer to this smaller contribution was a letter of thanks in her most gracious mood.[12] To meet the expenses of these ships, the Common Council authorized two loans to be raised from the liveried companies, one on the 24th day of March for £3,500,[13] a second one on the 3rd of August[14] "for double soe much mony," or £7,000. The first loan was to run for a year, the second for four months. In each case, the city gave bond for repayment, and for the second loan interest was promised. The full estimated cost to the city of the 12 ships, men and provisions was £18,500.[15] The expedition for which these ships was furnished became the highly successful raid upon Cadiz, but despite this fact, the city was in

[9] *Rep.* 21 f. 574–B.
[10] *Jor.* 24 f. 79–B; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 555 (A. of C. C. Dec. 15, 1595).
[11] *Ibid.*, f. 82–B (A. of C. C., Dec. 29, 1595).
[12] *Ibid.*, f. 84–B, 85 (A. of C. C., Jan. 14, 1595–6). *Cf.* above, ch. II, footnote 73.
[13] *Ibid.*, f. 105 (A. of C. C., 24 March, 1595–6).
[14] *Ibid.*, f. 144 (A. of C. C., 30 July, 1596). *Ibid.*, f. 147 (Aug. 3, 1596).
[15] *Cal. Hatfield MSS.* VI, p. 305.

no way recouped from the prize-money for its expenditures. It was largely resentment over this lapse on the part of the Queen, which led in the following December to the city's refusal of 10 more ships for her use.

The Queen was quite aware of the feeling of the city about the Cadiz expedition before making this second request. Indeed, a letter of the Lord Mayor's written to the Privy Council on the 3rd of November, 1596, could leave the crown in no doubt on the subject. The Lords of the Council had written to him that it was the Queen's pleasure for him to select 3 of the best ships of the city to be sent to Tilbury Road, there to give intelligence of the movements of any Spanish fleet.[16] To this command the mayor replied, "The contents of these your Lordships lettres I have forborne to propound as yet to ye Common Councell . . . in regard of that . . . service required of this Cytie for the setting forth of these 3 Shippes to bee employed in Tilbury Road which as my self and my Brethren the Aldermen doo greatly doubt will not bee so readily yealded unto in respect of the charge and great discouragement conceived of late by the people of this Cytie for ye evill successe of their adventure in the last viage whearof they see no fruit at all nor any part of the principall itself beeing to the soom of £1,900. Albeit the enterprise at ye town of Cales being so well and honourably atchieved is thought to yeald a sufficient purchase towardes satisfaction of all the Adventurers. Of which charges forasmuch as the greater part is yet uncollected to ye soom of £11 or 1200 which in the mean tyme is taken upon interest it may please your Lordships to consider what indisposition is very like to be found and with what difficultie they wilbe drawen to . . . these charges . . . Which myself and my Brethern the Aldermen perceaving of late by divers signes of their discontentment for so great charges which have been of late imposed upon them thought very meet to make knowen to your Lordships . . . humbly prayeng . . . the remitting of those 3 shippes."[17]

For the moment the Privy Council seems to have heeded the

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[16] *Remembrancia* II, 57 (30 Oct., 1596).
[17] *Ibid.*, II, 58 (3 Nov., 1596).

mayor's warning, and the demand for the 3 ships was not pressed. By the end of December, however, the Queen again turned, unabashed, to London and asked for 10 ships to aid her against Spain. The matter was put before the Common Council and their answer was a long letter of refusal couched in much the same vein as the Lord Mayor's earlier letter. The city had given the Queen for sea service alone in the last few years 100,000 marks. Now the merchants were poor, and famine threatened the city, and the people were utterly discouraged as a result of the Cadiz voyage. The Common Council saw no way of granting the Queen's present request.[18] The Queen acceded to a situation in which she had little choice, and the matter of the 10 ships was dropped. It has been suggested in a discussion of this refusal that a subsequent order from the crown requiring that during the coming summer one-half of the money usually spent by the Livery Companies in feasts should be given to the poor, was the Queen's rather subtle answer to the city's complaints of poverty.[19]

Other Instances of Reluctance to Grant Levies

The refusal in 1596 was by far the most outspoken and dramatic clash between the city and the Queen over the ship requirements. There were, however, other smaller disagreements, occurring both before and after the 1596 episode, which were significant in their turn of the reluctance with which the city viewed the frequent calls upon it for ships.

The reduction of the quota of 16 ships required by the Queen in 1595 to 12 ships and 2 pinnaces has already been mentioned.[20] The committee from the city which waited upon the Privy Council "for mittigacon of the number of Shippes"[21] drew up a detailed list of reasons why the city found itself too poor to give the Queen the full number. The memorandum noted that the population of the city was decreased by the plague; and that

[18] *Jor.* 24 f. 173–75 (Dec. 24, 1596), Letters of Council (*cf.* Sharpe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 557), *Cal. Hatfield MSS.*, VI, p. 534 (Dec. 24, 1596).

[19] *Rep.* 24 f. 60–B (Suggestion made by Sharpe, editor of City Records *op. cit.* I, p. 559).

[20] *Cf.* above, p. 75.

[21] *Jor.* 24 f. 82 (A. of C. C., 23 Dec., 1595).

those remaining were impoverished by the scarcity of grain and the restraining of traffic in the past year. Furthermore, such trade as was carried on was in the hands of the merchant strangers within the city. The price of cordage had risen greatly; the enemy ships were better armed than heretofore, which made it difficult to persuade the English owners to risk their shipping against them. Moreover, since 1588, the city had furnished for foreign service 5900 men costing £15,000 besides £6700 for ships against Brest and £500 for Ireland. Nevertheless, the committee assured the lords they were ready to help in any service "yt to hir Highnes shall seem meet and necessary for ye defence of hir Royall person . . . and of their native countrie and other hir highnes Domynions."[22] The report of the committee was received by the Privy Council and the compromise of 12 ships and 2 pinnaces agreed upon.

In 1592 the city made a grant to the Queen of £6000 for ships only after she had promised them "certaine peticons and condicons" which turned the whole affair into a strictly business proposition.[23]

In March of 1603, when the Queen asked the city for two "dromblers" for defense of the Thames, again the city consented, but asked that the surrounding counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, and Kent, which as well as London would benefit by the increased protection, should join with the city in the expense.[24] In the same year the Privy Council put to London the proposal for the perpetual fleet against the Dunkirkers. The answer of the city was, that by voluntary contribution, and the Council desired no coercion, the great companies were willing to subscribe £678, out of a total estimated need of £6,000. This was tantamount to a complete refusal upon the part of London to join in the proposal and the death of the Queen caused the matter to be dropped.

Every ship levy made in London, whether acceded to readily

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[22] *Remembrancia* II, 140, Circa–1596.
[23] *Jor.* 23 f. 87 (26 Jan., 1591–2). *Rem. Anal. Index* 1, p. 594.
[24] *Ibid.*, 26 f. 66 (A. of C. C., 12 March, 1602–03).

Individual Resistance to the Levies

or not by the city government, brought with it its own difficulties in the problem of collecting from the people the ensuing assessments. As has already been noted, the collection of the amounts due for the 1588 ships was still unfinished in 1593.[25] As other levies were made, the delays and evasions in paying for them became even more marked. Each levy entailed special quarrels over the alleged injustice of the assessments, obdurate refusals to pay the tax, lists of recalcitrants sentenced by the mayor to gaol until they should pay. These difficulties gave rise in each case to punitive legislation on the part of the Common Council, stern orders from the mayor to the aldermen, special meetings of the mayor's court to investigate cases of obdurate refusals. The 1591 levy, the first after 1588 and to a large extent a matter of contribution from the companies rather than from the whole body of inhabitants, was from the very beginning fortified by a clause inserted in the Act of Common Council to the effect that any warden who neglected to collect the assessment from his company, would be subject to imprisonment at the discretion of the Lord Mayor until he made proper payment.[26] This was reenforced on the 12th of October by an order from the Court of Aldermen giving the mayor, together with either two sheriffs or three aldermen, the power to constitute a court before which were to be haled all persons in "arrearages for . . . sea causes, to compell [such persons] to satisfye the same."[27] On the 10th of November, it was enacted that one bailiff instead of the two formerly appointed should be empowered to "carry all such to ward as should refuse to paiy any somes imposed."[28] The records give no clue as to who these tardy ones in 1591 were, except to address explicitly the Wardens of the Company of Grocers and urge them to collect the assessment of their company "all excuses sett aparte . . ."[29]

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[25] *Cf.* above, p. 74 ff.
[26] *Jor.* 23 f. 43–B (A. of C. C., 10 Sept., 1591).
[27] *Rep.* 22 f. 315 (12 Oct., 33 Eliz.).
[28] *Jor.* 23 f. 69 (A. of C. C., 10 Nov., 1591).
[29] *Ibid.*, f. 32–B (18 June, 1591).

The 1594 levy seems to have entailed relatively little difficulty. An order was passed by the Court of Aldermen appointing a committee of three to handle some difficulties which arose with the guild of the Scriveners.[30] Likewise a complaint from the Master and Wardens of the Company of Weyters stated that some of their brethren "free of the Co., . . . contemptyouslye refuse to appeare and some others appearing . . . doe still contynue very willfully and in contemptyous manner dysobedyent and refuse . . . to paye". Whereupon the Court of Aldermen issued its customary decree that all such persons were to be committed to prison by the master and wardens.[31]

Committments to Prison in 1595-6

When, however, the collection for the 12 ships granted in December of 1595 was undertaken, numerous difficulties were encountered. The city government sought by the same type of legislation as previously used to assert its authority over the various reluctant groups, but met with only partial success. Orders to the aldermen for the 12th and 20th of March, the 18th and the 21st of May and the 28th of June, 1596, all complain that "the somes of mony lately Assessed by Act of Comen councell . . . toward the furnishing . . . of twelve shipps . . . is not yet collected."[32] As the money continued to be still in large part unpaid, committees were appointed on the 17th of August, 1596, and again on the 26th of April, 1597, and the 31st of August, 1598, to "examyn what debts and dutyes whatsoever . . . are owing by any person or persons ether for Lande or sea causes." Names of the persons whose assessments were still unpaid were to be handed over to the Court of Aldermen and the persons themselves committed to ward in one of the city gaols.[33] On the 7th of November, 1598, an order was given for the appointment of a "Speciall courte of Aldermen . . . touching persons refusing to pay the fifteenths and other duties formerly imposed upon them." The Lord Mayor

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[30] *Rep.* 23 f. 265 (1 Aug., 1594).
[31] *Ibid.*, f. 348 (27 Jan., 1594–5).
[32] *Jor.* 24 f. 98; f. 104–B; f. 120. *Rep.* 23 f. 537; *Jor.* 24 f. 134–B.
[33] *Rep.* 23 f. 568. *Ibid.*, 24 f. 63–B; f. 272.

and three aldermen were to constitute this court and were to receive the arrears owed by all persons for her Majesty's service and to commit to ward those who refused to pay.[34]

Unfortunately, detailed records are lacking of the cases tried by this special mayor's court which was frequently convened for this purpose. There are, however, a few notes of committment in the *Repertories*. Likewise the *Remembrancia* contains several letters of the Lord Mayor's which give a spirited if hardly legalistic account of a few individual cases. In November, 1595, it seems that one "Owen Saintpere, a cooke of this cytie, a verie proverse and obstinate fellow", had been committed to prison by the Lord Mayor and aldermen for refusing "to paie such contribution as by his own companie was proportioned upon him for her Majesties service and for manie other misdemeanors and particularly of disobedience against the Lord Maior and government of this Cytie." Whereupon the said Owen retaliated by entering an action of "wrong imprisonment" in the court of King's Bench against the chamberlain and other officers of the city. The purpose of the Lord Mayor's letter written on the 12th day of November to the Queen's Lord Chancellor was to ask that the case be removed to the court of Chancery "Forasmuch as he [Owen Saintpere] pursueth [the case] in verie earnest and insolent sort . . . and for that the example toutcheth not only the good government of this cytie but hir Majesties service in such payments as ar imposed upon us for the saftie of the Realm Wee are humble suters to your good Lordship to vouchsafe unto us your honourable favour that the matter maie bee called into the Court of Chancery Whearbe the said parties evill demeanours and our orderly and necessary proceeding against beeing made knowen to your Lordship. It maie receave such end as to your Lordship's equitie and discreacon shall seem meet."[35]

On the 26th of March, 1596, the Lord Mayor wrote to the Lord Chamberlain to acquaint him with the case of one John Frederick who had obstinately refused to pay his assessment and whom the mayor had therefore committed to prison. The

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[34] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 314–B; 315–B.
[35] *Remembrancia* II, 122 (12 Nov., 1595).

mayor's letter stated the case as follows:[36] "ffor the better furthering of this present service, I have contynued a sitting in the Yealdhall with my Brethren ye Aldermen these 3 or 4 daies from morning to night and have called beefore mee divers persons who have dwelling houses within this cytie and refuse to paie their reasonable assessments according to the order sett down by your Lordships. Among other that refuse to paie their assesments wee called before us on John Ffrederick a ffreeman of this cyttie who soom three daies ago promised to paie as hee is assessed, viz. 26 s., 6 d. But being convented before us again this present Ffridaie in the afternoon for not paying the same hee not onlie refused to paie anie part thearof butt demeaned himself in yt indecent and unseemlie manner aswell in speeches as in his other beehaviour as yt hee hath given verie evill example to divers others who wear thear presente and refuse likewise to paie their assesments uttering withall that hee had disbursed for the Queen's Majestie in this presente service £20 more than he should bee repaied ffor which his demeanor tending aswell to ye slander of hir Highnes as to the hindring of hir Majesties service, I have thought good to committ him into on of ye comters as also to advertise your Lordship thearof."

A few days later, on the 31st of March,[37] the mayor found it necessary to write to the Lord Admiral concerning another Ffrederick, one Christopher, "churingian to her Highness" and freeman of the city, who had wrongly slandered Mr. Seabright, the Town Clerk, to the Lord Admiral. According to the mayor, Mr. Seabright had only urged Mr. Ffrederick in the mayor's court to pay his due assessment for the Queen's services. The mayor's account of the hearing was to the effect that at Ffrederick's "late apparance touching his assesment for this present service (for ye furthering whearof ye said Mr. Sebright hath taken great paines setting with mee and my Brethren ye Aldermen many daies togither from morning to night for the conventing of such as refuse to paie) hee perswaded ye said Mr. Frederick (as ye reste did) to bee content to paie his assesment in very good

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[36] *Ibid.* II, 150 (26 March, 1596).
[37] *Ibid.*, II, 151 (31 March, 1596).

and courteous manner whearwith hee could take no iust offence putting him in mynd that hee was a ffreeman and the service was intended for defence of the Realm."

Early in April, the Lord Mayor wrote another letter of a more personal kind, to the Widow Woolhouse, reminding her of her assessment and persuading her to pay it at once lest he be forced much against his own inclination to present her name to the Privy Council with those of other recalcitrants. The letter, though somewhat cumbersome in phrasing, gives a fairly adequate conception of the general situation which the mayor found it necessary to meet. The gist of it follows: "It is not unknown unto you how streight a charge wee have receaved from ye Queens Majestie for the fournishing fourth of certen shipps to ioygn with her Majesties navie Royall for defence of the Realm . . . and for yt this service is greatlie hindered and in a manner disappointed by default of such as doo refuse to paie their rateable parts as they ar assessed which in reason and duetie they ought to doo Wee ar enfourced according to ye commandement given unto us to present their names to the Lordships and others of hir Majesties privie counsell. Among other wee find yt yourself beeing assessed at £80 and so to paie after yt rate the soom of £10, 13 s., 4 d. refuse to paie that your assessment. Whearby wee shalbee fourced among the rest to present your name which forasmuch as it is like to tend to your great rebuke the rather for yt beeing the widow of a ffreeman who gott his goods within the cytie and of that habilitie as that you have not any just pretence to refuse to paie as other of the poorer sort ar content to doo you wilbe accompted a great hinderer of so necessarie a service beeing for the defence of the Realm and with the sparing of so small a soom purchase to yourself the note and name of no good subiect and yet in the end wilbe enfourced to paie that which you now refuse ffor which respect and for that wee are verie loath for the good affection which wee beare to you and your late husband that yow should procure so ill an opinion and so great trouble as will ensue hereof, Wee thought good to write unto yow and to requier yow once againe to give order for the present payment of the saied money . . ."[38]

[38] *Ibid.*, II, 154 (April 2, 1596).

To these letters of the mayor, the *Repertories* add information concerning the committment of "Ffrancys Johnson of the parish of St. Botulph in the warde of Billingsgate" on the 23rd July 1596 "to the gaiole of Newgate" for that he "did of late greatlie abuse one Robert Thurstome one of the collectors appoynted for leveying the twoo fifteenes for her Majestie service within the same ward . . . and did strike and beate the said Thurston and drewe bludd of him as he was in doing and executing of his sayd office."[39] From the same source comes the information that one George Crowther, vintner, yielded finally to the persuasion of the court, and promised to pay before Christmas next following, the sum of £10, 13 s., 4 d. assessed on him after the rate of £80 in goods for the ships and pinnaces sent by the city on the Cadiz voyage.[40] And likewise that in February of 1598 it was necessary to imprison by order of the Court of Aldermen one, Thomas Dowsing, draper, for refusing to pay all general taxes assessed upon him, among others those for the Queen's Majesty's service.[41]

Objections of Trade Guilds to Levies

From among this type of scattered individual refusals, there emerged gradually during the 1595–6 assessment certain more or less self-contained groups whose members refused to pay their rates as a protest against injustice, or against alleged infringement of ancient local rights. Of these groups, the objections raised by several of the trade guilds were the most concrete and most characteristic of the 1596 levy, centering as they did merely around the amount of the assessment required of each company. The two remaining important groups, however, consisting of (1) those living in so-called "exempt" or "privileged places" and (2) of those individuals who were either strangers in the city or officers of the Queen's court or held some other alleged claim for personal exemption, based their refusals to pay on the ground that they were not

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[39] *Rep.* 23 f. 561 (23 July, 1596).
[40] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 16–B (16 Dec., 1596).
[41] *Ibid.*, f. 362 (23 Feb., 1598–9).

really a part of the city, and thus not subject to purely city taxes even when levied for the Queen's service. Against these groups, the city government summoned all the authority of the Privy Council and struggled ceaselessly to break down their claims to local exemption.

The most rebellious of the trade guilds in the 1596 levy was that of the Scriveners. Their difficulty with the city government was evidently concerned with the amount of the assessment apportioned by the Common Council as the Scriveners' part in the loan made by the companies for the ships. Such a loan was a routine part of almost every levy, and the Scriveners, which ranked as one of the smaller companies, had been assessed in 1591 for £64;[42] in 1594 for £30, 12 s.;[43] and now in 1596 for £32.[44] Just why they considered this amount unfair does not appear in the records but their refusal to acquiesce in it seems to have been obstinate. On the 29th of April, the Court of Aldermen ordered that "the wardens of the Scriveners which refuse to lend such somes of money as they are ordered to lend by Acte of Comen Councell towards the furnishing and setting furth of the shippes and pynnaces and men by this city shalbe committed to ward by my lord Maior untill they accomplish the same . . ."[45] Five months later a very similar order was again enacted. One, Richard Higgenbothom, was instructed "from tyme to tyme as shalbe needfull [to] attende the Masters and Wardens of the Company of Scryvenors and Comytt to one of the Compters uppon Commandment of the lord Maior and this courte such persons being free of all the Scrivenors as do refuse to lende and paye to the said M.'s and Wardens such somes of money as they are rated and proporconed at towardes the charges of the setting furth of ye shippes and pinnasses by this cittie for her Majesties service."[46] On the same day that this order went out, Sept. 8, 1596, two men from the Scriveners' company were imprisoned by its authority. One was Thomas

[42] *Jor.* 23 f. 31 (A. of C. C., 16 June, 1591).
[43] *Ibid.*, f. 292–B (Precept of Mayor, July 18, 1594); *ibid.*, 24 f. 105 (A. of C. C., 24 March, 1595–6).
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *Rep.* 23 f. 527 (29 April, 1596).
[46] *Ibid.*, f. 572–B (8 Sept., 1596).

Ffrith, who "for his obstinate refusing to lende the some of 6 s., 8 d. imposed on him by the Masters and Wardens of his Company towardes payment of the charge of shippes and pynasses . . . [was] committed to ye gaole of Newgate there to remayne during ye pleasure of this Courte."[47] The other was Zacharie Humfrey "by this Corte for his Contemptuous and insolent behavior and misdemeanour by him used in the same courte comytted to the gaole of Newgate there to remayne duringe ye pleasure of this courte."[48] A little more than a month later, on the 14th of October, the city government changed its tone towards the Company of Scriveners and the Court of Aldermen ordered "yt Mr. Soame and Mr. Bennett, Aldermen, shall meete here and examyn the griefs and complaints of ye companie of Scryveners made to this courte towching their over assessements and to make reporte to this courte."[49] Supposedly some satisfactory agreement was reached between the city and the company, for though no report of the committee appears on the records, neither do any further entries concerning recalcitrant scriveners.

The example of the Scriveners apparently stimulated at least two of the other guilds to attempt a reduction in their assessments. An order was passed by the Court of Aldermen on the 16th of March, 1597–8 "that the next Com. Councell shalbe moved on the behalf of the Company of Salters who greatly complayne of their surcharge in assessements and rates imposed upon them by this citty towards her Majesties service that the said common councell may ether moderat the same or appoynte committees to examyn their complaynts and to take order for their relief therein if cause shall so appeare."[50] The Salters ranked among the twelve great companies and had been assessed for the various ship levies at £388, 8 s. in 1591;[51] £144 in 1594;[52] and £194, 4 s. in 1596,[53] besides demands made for the support

[47] *Ibid.*, f. 572–B.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*, f. 591 (14 Oct., 1596).
[50] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 205 (16 March, 1597–8).
[51] *Jor.* 23 f. 31 (16 June, 1591).
[52] *Ibid.*, f. 292–B.
[53] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 105.

of the Queen's militia and for sundry forced loans to the crown. Despite the conciliatory attitude of the Court of Aldermen to the company as a whole, it was found necessary, on the 3rd of October, to imprison a salter by the name of Oliver Skynner for continued refusal to pay the 3 s. 4 d. owed by him for her Majesty's service.[54]

The other guild to ask for a reduction in its assessments was that of the Goldsmiths, likewise one of the twelve most important companies. Their quota for ships in 1591 had been £485, 8 s.;[55] in 1594, £258, 6 s.;[56] in 1596, £242, 14 s.[57] On the 29th of August, 1598, it was granted by the Court of Aldermen "that the Masters and Wardens of the Company of Goldsmithe maybe suiters to the next common councell for due consideracon to be had of the rate whereat the said company is overcharged as they pretende aswell for her Majestie as the citties services."[58]

Refusal of Privileged Places, Strangers, and Officers of Court

From the very first, in all special assessments for "her Majesty's service", the London city government sought to include in the general apportionment of the expense not only the wealthy freemen of the city proper, but also (1) those living in the sections known as "privileged places", (2) those strangers to the city who held "dwelling places" there, and (3) all those officers of the court who sought by reason of their position to gain exemption. All three of these groups resented bitterly the attempt to include them in the assessment and as the levies became more frequent, their objections and refusals to pay became more and more marked.

The regular form used by the Common Council of London when granting money for the Queen's service was that used in 1596 for the 12 ships, i. e. "that a some of mony amountinge unto one wholl and entier Subsidie shalbe presently taken upp levied

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[54] *Rep.* 24 f. 289–B (3 Oct., 1598).
[55] *Jor.* 23 f. 31.
[56] *Ibid.*, f. 292–B.
[57] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 105.
[58] *Rep.* 24 f. 269 (29 August, 1598).

and paide of the moueable goods and chattells of all and every personne and persons whatsoever aswell Englishe as straungers born alyens freemen and forriners from the liberties of this citie beinge of habilitie to paye and inhabitinge and dwellinge recydinge or haveinge dwellinge houses As well within the liberties freedom and suburbes of this citie as in any place exempt or pretended to [be] privileged . . . "[59]

The privileged places, the strangers, and the gentlemen officers did not, however, recognize themselves as bound by such city legislation and continued to withstand the collectors of the taxes. The answer of the city was to appeal to the Privy Council to break down this deep-rooted sectionalism and compel these groups to consider themselves as part of the city and subject to the city's assessments. The Privy Council at once supported the legislation of the city and commanded the objectors to submit to the taxation. Despite this support from the crown, the city continued to have trouble in enforcing the collection of money, and at the very end of the reign the problem was still in large part unsettled.

As early as 1591, the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor that it had instructed "the chief officers of those priveledged places to collect and gather those reasonable sums of money uppon conference with you that should be answerable to those somes imposed in other places of the citty." And furthermore, ". . . if any persones . . . not ordinarie dwellers in the said exempt and priviledged places shall retire themselves into those places therby to avoide the service . . . uppon notice thereof given to the said officers, they shall by vertue hereof be required to make serch for such persones and to send them unto you whome we could wishe you would see severelie punished for that their lewde behaviour in withdrawing themselves."[60]

In 1593, the Privy Council wrote again authorizing collection not only from the privileged places, but from strangers having dwelling houses in the city, from "the doctors of the civill lawe and many others of sondrye qualyties beeing of good habilitie

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[59] *Jor.* 24 f. 139–B; 140 (A. of C. C. 23 July, 1596).
[60] *Ibid.*, 23 f. 36–B; 37 (Privy Council to Lord Mayor, July 11, 1591).

[who] doe refuse to contribute with you." If after this letter they still refused, the Council desired the Lord Mayor to take bond of them to make their personal appearance before the Council "and declare there reasons whie they seke to withdraw themselves in this dutifull necessarie and publique service."[61]

A like order from the Privy Council accompanied the levy of 1595–6. By it, strangers were instructed to contribute towards the needed ships because it was a service that concerned the defense of the whole realm.[62] A subsequent letter to the mayor ordered him to inform himself "of the nomber of suche gentlemen and others which have howses of habitacon within this citie, and are not freed of the same and doe not pay subsedye within this citie . . . to thende such order may be taken for payment thereof towards the charge to be levyed for this preparacon of shippinge now in hande . . ."[63] In May the aldermen were given full instructions as to how the rate should be determined for "such gentlemen and others not free of this citie which haue houses of habitacon heare." The mayor's order read, "callinge unto you the Comen Councell, the person, churche wardens and parish clarke of every severall parishe within your warde, and indifferently to rate and value the dwellinge house of every severall person hereunder named after such rate as the same house may be indifferently let for one Wholl yeare . . ."[64] In August the list was ready for the Privy Council. It was prefaced as follows ". . . The names of suche gentlemen and others inhabitinge within the cittie of London and liberties thereof and exempt places that refuse to paye towardes the setting furth of twelve shippes and twoo pynnaces for her Majesties necessary service, alledging the payment of their Subsidie to her Majestie elsewhere whereuppon their howses are respectivelie valued according to the worth of their yerely rente, and your honorable direccons. Beseeching your Lordships to giue my Lord Maior absolute and effectual order for the speedye colleccion thereof." The list was made up according to wards, with the names of the

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[61] *Ibid.*, f. 171 (Privy Council to Lord Mayor, 6 Feb., 1592–3).
[62] *Ibid.*, 24 f. 89 (Jan. 15, 1595–6).
[63] *Ibid.*, f. 93–B (Mayor to Aldermen, 23 Feb., 1595–6).
[64] *Ibid.*, f. 123 (Mayor to Aldermen, 22 May, 1596).

defaulting individuals under each ward, and beside each name the estimated value of a year's rent of his house. Twenty-one wards appeared with a total of 217 persons. One house was valued at £100, but the average amount ran between £40 and £25. The smallest amount rated was £3 annual rent.[65]

The difficulty, however, does not seem to have been solved by this scheme of assessment. The same complaints from the mayor to the Privy Council, the same orders from the Privy Council to the mayor, continued to be exchanged not only through the remainder of the 1596 collection but also through every subsequent levy. In October, 1596, the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor to reenforce its previous decisions that in the matter of special services to the Queen, there should be no exemption for the inhabitants of the privileged places, strangers, or officers of the Court. Special mention was made of the doctors of the civil law who continued to refuse to pay their assessments, and whom the Council now once more ordered to be bound over to appear personally before the lords.[66]

In December of 1598, the Privy Council, through the Lord Mayor, again ordered the constables of the privileged and exempt places to confer with the Lord Mayor, and to see to it that the number of militia and the money for any public service were duly contributed, and furthermore, that the privileged places should not act as refuges for those who would avoid either service or money.[67] A year later a special committee was appointed out of the Court of Aldermen to make a report to the court of "how farr forth Straingers and forrens commorant within this citty are chargeable to contribute and beare charges with freemen and cittizens . . .". The findings of the committee were "that by the anncyent custome of the citty of London and charters confirmed by Parlyament that forreyns commorant or holding howses within London or the liberties have bene chargeable and ought to paye fifteenes within the said citty and the libertyes of the same assessed by Acte of Commen Councell within this

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[65] *Lans. MSS.* LXXXI (31 of Aug., 1596), *cf. Appendix D*, summary of MSS.
[66] *Jor.* 24 f. 160–B (P. Council to Lord Mayor, Oct. 10, 1596).
[67] *Letter Bk. AA.* f. 227 (Council to Mayor, 29 Dec., 1598).

citty for the good of the Queene and the realme . . . or for any other things whereof foreynes are to receave good as well as freemen . . . Also that the best waye or meanes to recover the same is by way of distresse and that at such tyme as any fifteene shalbe graunted by Commen Councell power is to be then given by the same . . . for leveying thereof by waie of distresse."[68]

As in all previous cases, the legislation of the city council had very little practical effect and the strangers and gentlemen of the court continued to evade the special assessments. On the 14th of the August following the above report, the mayor found it necessary to instruct the aldermen of the wards to draw up certificates of those "gentlemen Comon Lawyers Doctors of the Civill law and of Phisick and of other foreners that have dwellings within your ward" and are taxed for this service.[69] A few weeks later a special committee was again appointed, this time to "haue consideracon what course is fitt to be taken by this citty with such gentlemen and other Inhabitants not free of this citty who have dwellinge howses here which refuse to contribute towardes the charges of the late service for her Maiestie within the same city."[70] In January following, the aldermen and deputies were instructed "to deale by way of perswasion . . . with all such gentlemen . . . having dwellinge howses within theire warde which have not already payd such somes of money as they were assessed to have paide towards her Majestie service and defense of this cittie in somer last."[71] The names of those who refused were, as usual, to be presented to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen.[72]

Some attempt was made in the spring of 1600 by the Privy Council to reach a satisfactory agreement with the inhabitants of Blackfriars which constituted one of the most important of the "privileged places". An alderman was nominated by the city court to meet with two officers appointed by the Lords of the Council and "take some reasonable course for the indifferent

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[68] *Rep.* 24 f. 337–B (Jan. 9, 1598–9).
[69] *Jor.* 25 f. 85 (Mayor to Aldermen, 14 Aug., 1599).
[70] *Rep.* 24 f. 474 (20 Oct., 1599).
[71] *Jor.* 25 f. 147 (Mayor to Aldermen, 29 Jan., 1599–1600).
[72] *Letter Bk. BB.* f. 24 (25 Jan., 42 Eliz.).

and equall assessements to be imposed upon the Inhabitants of Blackfriers to contribute ratably with the cittizens of this cittie in all payments aswell for performance of her Majesties service hereafter as for the arrearages by them heretofore owing for the like service."[73]

The success of this measure is impossible to determine. Certainly within a few months the Privy Council found it necessary to issue an order concerning the assessment of privileged places both more peremptory and more detailed than it had as yet done. This latest order, issued on the 31st of July, began as so many others had done with the statement that "complainte hath bene made divers times heretofore and nowe verie latelie renewed unto us the lordes and others of her Majestie privie Councell, That the Inhabitants for the most part of speciall liberties and in privileged places . . . have refused and doe refuse by pretence of freedome of the said places to paie the taxe and rates for the ffyfteenes due for their houses in the Citie, and to contribute unto the charges of the publique services for her Majestie and the State together with other parts of the Citie not exempt or priveleged, And . . . the like complaint hath been often made . . . that divers persons of good quallitie and abilitie of livinge haueinge dwelling houses within the said Citie . . . have refused and doe refuse to paie the rates sett on their houses . . . and to contribute to the chardge of publique services in anie reasonable proporcion with the Citizens by pretence and collor, that notwithstandinge their said howses . . . they themselves are not of the Citie. And also manie of them have their chief dwellinge howses abroad in the Countrey . . ." The order then continued that inasmuch as both these groups of people enjoyed the privileges of the city, they should join with the city in the payment of the city's fifteenths and in bearing a reasonable part of the special charges. A special arrangement was made for the fair assessment of houses in privileged places not previously rated and for a fair proportionment of the charge of any service for the Queen. "A competent nomber of indifferent persons [were] to bee equalie chosen in the one parte by the

[73] *Rep.* 25 f. 60 (13 March, 1599–1600).

Aldermen and comen councell of the ward [of the said privileged place] and the other by the Inhabitants of the said priveledged place or the moste of them. And in case the Committees of both parties [should] not agree on the rates, then the rate [was] to be sett and determined by twoe of the Maisters of the Requests, and one of the Clerks of the Councell or twoe of them." Persons not living in any privileged or exempt place were "everye of them of whatsoever quallitie condicon or degree . . . except Lordes of the Parliament and . . . of her Majestie privie Councell" to be rated and assessed by the Aldermen and Common Council of the ward where their houses stood, or by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. However, if the men were not freemen of the city but dwelt there only part of the time, and were assessed for the Queen's service in the locality in which their estates lay, then such persons were to be rated by the city only in accordance with the value of their London house, and not according to their general wealth. If after these new regulations were carried out, there were still some persons who "obstinatelie" refused to make payment, they should be bound over by the mayor to appear before the Privy Council, and answer to the lords for their contempt.[74]

The recent complaint spoken of in the preface to the above order included, in all probability, that made by the city on the 5th of June preceding against various officials of the court. These gentlemen had refused to pay their fifteenths "assessed reasonably" upon them for service for the queen "under pretense of their . . offices". "Whearby," continued the report, "rather they should bee induced to yeald the same and other duties unto her highnes in more willinge sort Which forasmuch as yt giveth cause of discontentment and unwillingness to divers other her highnes people within this Citie to paye these and other charges, which are required for her highnes seruice."[75]

A year later, in July, 1601, a controversy was evidently still being waged between the city and one of the privileged places, that of St. Martin's le grand. An order was made in the Court

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[74] *Letter Bk. BB.* f. 56–B (*Orders fr. Privy Council*, 31 July, 1600).
[75] *Remembrancia* II, 208 (5 June, 1600).

of Aldermen on the 16th for the appointment of a committee to meet with men from the liberty of St. Martin's le grand and consider "the matter in question betweene this citty and the said libertye towching the paying of charges for her Majesties service."[76]

The whole problem of bringing the so-called exempt groups within the jurisdiction of the city's assessments was a much wider one than merely the collection of ship money, and the objection voiced by the privileged places, the strangers and the gentlemen officers was no less vigorous when asked for money for the militia or for fifteenths for the city, than when asked to contribute to the expense of the ships. Nevertheless, the fact that the ship levies came with increasing frequency, added to the fact that the refusals of these groups to pay continued in the face of direct orders from the Privy Council, combined to surround each succeeding levy with an atmosphere of reluctance and irritation, bordering on rebellion. As the letter already quoted[77] phrased the situation, "yt giveth cause of discontentment and unwillingness to divers others her highnes people."

Increased Irritation throughout the Whole City

This general dissatisfaction was reflected in the continued need for punitive legislation with every new levy, and the continued appearance of memoranda on defaulting individuals. The 1599 levy was accompanied by orders to collect the money at once and to bring any one who refused to pay before the mayor.[78] Two months later, a special order was necessary to bring in the "residue whiche is behind and ungathered."[79] In April 1601 a third order instructed the aldermen to make a list of the names of those individuals in their wards who refused to pay "either in respecte of wilfulness . . . or denyall . . . or in regarde of their disabilitie."[80] In June, another order of the same type followed for a certificate of

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[76] *Rep.* 25 f. 253 (16 July, 1601).
[77] *Cf.* above, p. 93.
[78] *Jor.* 25 f. 80 (Mayor to Aldermen, 5 Aug., 1599).
[79] *Ibid.*, 100 (Mayor to Aldermen, 20 Oct., 1599).
[80] *Ibid.*, 58–B (Mayor to Aldermen, 9 April, 1601).

names showing "The iust cause why they shulde not paie . . ."[81]

Between these two orders, in May of 1601, the Court of Aldermen had made an attempt to satisfy the claims of unjust assessment made by various wards by appointing a committee for complete reorganization of the assessments. The order read, "where often a grete question hathe at sondry tymes heretofore risen . . . touching an indifferent and equall course to be holden for all manner of assessments rates and taxacons to be paied and borne for and towards her Majesties service within this cyttye ffor the pacificacon whereof yt is ordred and decreed . . ." that a committee of twelve, "calling before them the deputies, Comen Councell and suche and so manye Inhabitants of every severall warde within this cittye as they shall thinke meet and likewise for the subsidie bookes shall by theire good discrecons sett an equall rate and proporcon after a rate of five hundred pounds upon everye severall Warde within this cittye indifferentlye according to the abilities of the Inhabitants of every such warde."[82]

This order, like the two previous ones in 1601, was necessitated by the command of the Queen that the city should build her 2 galleys. None of the orders seem to have effected a prompt payment of the levy, which was resented bitterly. A petition from the city to the Privy Council asking for a reduction in the amount of another service asked by the Queen, stated that of the £3200 expended to build and equip the 2 galleys, "scarce the one half is gathered in although 20 cittizens have bin imprisoned at on tyme for not paiment. A great parte whereof is to be payed by Gentlemen Lawiers, foreners, and the Queenes seruants whoe refuse to paye anythinge therunto, to the greate discontentment of many freemen beinge for ye most part poore and not able to undergoe such dayly payments."[83] Only a few individual citations of these persons committed to jail for defaulting in their payments appear in the records and those only in such brief mention as to throw no further light on the reasons for their continued refusals.[84]

[81] *Ibid.*, f. 274 (Mayor to Aldermen, 21 June, 1601).
[82] *Rep.* 25 f. 228–B (7 May, 1601).
[83] *Remembrancia* II, 204 (Petition to Lords of Council. Circa 1600).
[84] *Rep.* 25 f. 83 (Richard Crowchfodler, 25 April, 1600).
Ibid., f. 216–B (Sir John Spencer Kt., 2 April, 1601).

The difficulties which the city encountered in trying to collect the ship money and assessments for the Queen's service in general were greatly augmented by the negligence and indifference of the collectors. As in the case of the county officials entrusted with the levying and collection of the assessments, the sympathy of the city aldermen and special committees was very often with their dilatory charges, and their efforts to carry out the city's ordinances were often only half-hearted.

Negligence and Indifference of Collectors

The officers in charge of the privileged places were, as might be expected, particularly evasive in the performance of their duties. As early as 1591, the Privy Council in writing to the Lord Mayor found it necessary to threaten them with the court's disfavor if they refused to cooperate with the city government. ". . . Yf any of the said officers," stated the letter, "shall showe themselves remisse to come with you in thease services, and to see the same performed. Uppon notice hereof, they shalbe sure to heare of the same, little to their liking . . ."[85]

But the other collectors in wards plainly within the jurisdiction of the city were also remiss. These the London Common Council sought to control by its customary legislation threatening imprisonment; the Lord Mayor, by stern letters of reprimand. Neither seemed to effect much improvement in the zeal or honesty of the officials. In May of 1595, the Common Council enacted, "yt yf anie collector or collectors which now or hereafter shalbe appointed . . . shalbe carelesse or negligent or shall willfullie refuse to collecte levie and gather or to distreyne for all and every such somme and sommes . . . of all and every suche person and persons whatsoever Inhabiteng within this cytie, liberties, and Suburbes hereof any such somme of mony as any such Inhabitant is or ought to pay. Or if anie Constables . . . shall upon request refuse to aide any such collector, . . . That then and at all such tymes, yt shalbe lawfull to the Lord Maior for the tyme beeing to committ any such collector or

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[85] *Jor.* 23 f. 36–B; 37 (P. C. to Lord Mayor, July 11, 1591).

constable to ward in one of the compters . . . theare to remaine."[86]

Two years after the event, a letter of the mayor's charged in no uncertain terms the aldermen of the wards with negligence in collecting the money due for Essex's expedition in 1596. He wrote, "The leveying and paiement whereof yow have had severall precepts at sundrie times to you directed and for committing such to ward as should refuse to paie the same, wherein you have ben verie remisse and negligent and performed your dutie in that behalf to the great hinderance of her Majestie said service."[87]

The 1599 levy brought forth several orders from the city government to the collectors to hurry their work and turn in the money already collected.[88] In March of 1600 the collection was still uncompleted, and the mayor wrote again, ". . . Forasmuch as you have greatly neglected to execute the contents and effect of the sayd acte [that of the C. C. 3 Aug. 1599 granting money for ships] . . . chiefly in not collectinge all such somes of money as the inhabitants of your warde were assessed to paie [you are now] straightly charged" to collect the money due.[89]

In the summer of 1601, the mayor was again accusing the collectors of negligence in the performance of their duties. The city was heavily in debt for the £3200 spent on galleys for the Queen and the money was not coming in. On the 30th of July the Lord Mayor wrote, "the busines touchinge the collectinge and gatheringe thereof [15ths granted by city] hath bin . . . soe slenderlie or rather negligentlie dealt in that the greatest parte thereof . . . is yet remayninge uncollected . . . by meanes whereof my self without iust cause am likelie to be blamed."[90]

On the 24th of August following, another precept appeared, again rehearsing the negligence of the collectors and the resulting

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[86] *Letter Bk. AB.* f. 331 (A. of C. C., 27 May, 37 Eliz.).
[87] *Jor.* 24 f. 340 (Mayor to Aldermen, 24 Oct., 1598).
[88] *Ibid.*, 25 f. 80 (5 Aug., 1599), *ibid.*, f. 100 (Mayor to Aldermen, 20 Oct., 1599).
[89] *Ibid.*, f. 153 (Mayor to Aldermen, 8 Mar., 1599–1600).
[90] *Ibid.*, f. 286 (Mayor to Aldermen, 30 July, 1601).

hindrance to the Queen's service. By this order all money was to be in within five days. All those who refused to pay were to be brought before the mayor's court.[91] A month later the mayor wrote again describing the general situation, in which the money for three separate assessments for the galleys and militia was still outstanding, ordering all money to be in by the 25th of September [three days after the precept] and threatening the collectors with punitive action unless they obeyed this final order. Said the mayor in conclusion, "If in performance thereof you be soe remiss and negligent as heretofore you have bin in not committinge suche obstinate persons as doe denye or deferr payment wherein it appeareth howe lightlie you regard both my precepts to yourself directed and the especiall service of Hir Majestie notwithstandinge comandment by my officers . . . or if you do not exacte present payment of all such somes of money as are behinde by anie person or persons within your warde without taking anie their excuses or promises whearby I may have further blame from the Lords of hir Majestie most hon. privie councell as alreadie I have had and to my discreditt be continuallie troubled in my owne house with the clamores of suche persons to whom diverse somes of money for worke and stoffe and things bought of them for the said service are due, as though the defalte of their not payment did remaine in me. Assure yourselfs I will take such order as your negligence in performing your dutie herein doth requier."[92]

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[91] *Ibid.*, f. 287–B (Mayor to Aldermen, 24 Aug., 1601).
[92] *Ibid.*, f. 290 (Mayor to Aldermen, 22 Sept., 1601).

VII

Summary of Use of Uncompensated Ship Levies at End of Elizabeth's Reign

This graphic sketch of an irate Lord Mayor, hounded by unpaid workmen on the one side, and an impatient Privy Council on the other, himself striving to arouse indifferent under-officials to action, is practically the last glimpse the records afford of the state of the ship money levies under Elizabeth. In March of 1603, the city, it is true, granted the Queen two "dromblers" to guard the Thames, but her death caused a stay to be made in the equipment of the ships, and such of the money as was already collected was ordered to be returned.[1] A few memoranda concerning individuals still defaulting in Elizabethan assessments were carried over into the city records for 1603, and even into 1605, but they add nothing of general importance.[2] The closing note on the ship levy situation in Elizabeth's time remains that given by the harried Lord Mayor. The city as a corporate body had been willing, with the one notable exception of December, 1596, to grant the levies required by the Queen, but the individual tax-payers, aided by a secretly sympathizing body of collectors, constantly evaded their assessments, and as one levy followed hard upon another the city government found it increasingly difficult to collect the necessary money. In the provinces, the situation was much the same. There the Queen had asked for general levies only twice, in 1588, and again in 1596. Both times she had succeeded in gaining the ships but only after much local irritation and the same history as in London of negligent officials and recalcitrant tax-payers.

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[1] *Jor.* 26 f. 66, 79; *cf.* above, p. 37 (12 April, 1603).

[2] *Rep.* 26 f. 141 (17 May, 1603, 7 Inhabitants of the Ward of Walbroke to be imprisoned).
Ibid., f. 165–B, Special hearing for those refusing (24 June, 1603).
Ibid., f. 166–B, Collectors of 2 wards to turn in money (27 June, 1603).
Ibid., f. 168, Collector of Walbroke imprisoned (30 June, 1603).
Ibid., f. 538, 2 collectors imprisoned for refusal to turn over 1602 assessment money (13 March, 1604–05; 2nd James).

Advance Made by Government in Use of Levies

The reluctance of the port towns to bear the brunt of the expense, coupled with the Queen's insistence that the ships required were for the defense of the whole realm, enabled the 1596 levy to be extended inland to a far greater degree than that of 1588. But this was not accomplished without protests from inland regions, notably York and Norfolk, which considered themselves, by right of long usage, immune from marine charges. The proposal made in 1603, however, for a permanent fleet against the Dunkirkers to be supported by the entire country without distinction between inland and maritime regions shows that the old local conception of special coast charges was gradually being broken down by the government under the pressure of the Queen's principle of "defence for the whole realm."

The same 1603 schedule also marked a great progress towards centralization of the levy, and towards complete conversion of the cumbersome local quotas of ships into equivalent sums of money. This proposed complete reorganization came as the result of experience in the former levies both in the provinces and in London. This experience had proved the inadequacy of the local units to levy the assessments, gather the money, and equip the ships without constant quarrels and cavillings between the local units themselves and with the central government.

Increase in Protests against Levies

Cecil, in the 1603 plan, however, was able to make such sweeping changes only because from the first it purported to ask for "voluntary contributions". The reluctance of the individuals assessed to contribute to the ship levies was discernible even in 1588, and naturally increased as the demands became more frequent. Probably the chief reason why this undeniable reluctance never became open revolt during Elizabeth's reign was that she never asked for ships, even from London, without having in view some concrete and specified use for them, a use which would make the charge but a temporary one. When a more extended scheme was proposed, as that of

the fleet against the Dunkirkers, the charge was made voluntary and so the chief objection to it disappeared.

Stuart Opinion of Elizabethan Use of Ship Levies

Oddly enough, though from 1588 to the end of her reign, Elizabeth had used the ship levy in one form or another in London or the provinces almost every year, and had during these years very perceptibly increased the area subject to the levies and strengthened the organization by which they were collected, her use of ship money seems to have made very little impression upon the next generation. Thirty-five years later, when the famous Hampden case was elaborately argued by the most learned justices of England, they made but little mention of recent ship money or ship levies.[3] Most of their citations were drawn, instead, from much earlier periods, from the usages of the Edwards, from those of Henry III and IV, and were very often far less pertinent than many that could have been culled from Elizabeth's reign. Such as were drawn from the Elizabethan period were not always accurate. Judge Crooke, in arguing against the crown, stated that by the writs issued by Elizabeth the ships were to be made ready by the towns, not the counties, and that the making of new ships was not warranted by any precedents for either inland or maritime towns. As writs had been sent to the counties to help the towns, and as London in the case of the galleys, at least, did build new ships, such a statement is misleading. Lord Chief Baron Davenport, arguing for the King, referred to Elizabeth as acting on the prerogative in 1588 when, without Parliament, she prepared the realm against invasion, but he does not specifically mention her demand for ships. Also Sir John Finch, in his discussion of the sovereign's prerogative in case of danger to the realm, made use of Elizabeth's raising money for the general defense of the realm by privy seal commissions, but was silent on her use of ship levies.

Despite the relative silence of Charles' judges on the Eliza-

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[3] Fr. *17th Cen. MSS. Carson Coll.* giving arguments of 12 Justices of Exchequer in Hampden Case, 1638.

bethan use of ship levies, these levies had been a very real and growing part of the Elizabethan policy. Furthermore, even though the judges were now unconscious of it, they had played an important part in laying the foundations for the very case they were now arguing. The inland extension, and the challenging of the government for that extension, to say nothing of the substitution of a money tax for the ships, had well-established Elizabethan origins.

APPENDICES

Because of the difficulty of securing type which would adequately represent the signs of abbreviation used in the original documents, all abbreviated words have been expanded both in the quotations appearing in the context of the work and in the documents printed in these appendices. The original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have, however, been retained, together with the original dating of the documents which is, of course, Old Style.

APPENDIX A

LIST FOR 1588

S. P. D. E. Vol. 237 on Admiralty f. 18–B

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f. 18–B "The names of the Porte Townes and what shipps and pinnaces they were appointed to furnish anno 1588 and whither they were to repaire."

	SHIPPS	PINNACES	
BRISTOLL	3	1	(All the shipps to be of 60 tonnes and upward)
BRIDGWATER	1	1	
BARSTABLE TARRINGTON	2	1	
FOYLOWE	1	1	
PLYMOUTH ASHE TAVESTOCKE	3	1	
DARTMOUTH TOTNES	2	1	(To repaire to Sr. Francis Drake at Plymouth 20 Shipps 10 Pinnaces)
EXCETER APSON	3	1	
LYME CHARDE EXMINSTER	2	1	
WEYMOUTH MELCOMBE	2	1	

POOLE	1	1	
THE ISLE OF WIGHT	1	1	
HAMPTON	2	1	
CHICHESTER	1	0	
FIVE PORTS	5	1	
COLCHESTER	1	0	(To repaire to ye Lo. Admirall where he shall appointe)
IPSWICH HARWICH	2	2	
ALBOROUGHE ORFORTH DUNWICH	1	0	
YERMOUTHE LEYSTOCKE	1	1	
LYNNE BLACKNEY	1	1	(The total of all the Shipps 48 and of ye Pinnaces 29)
HULL	2	1	
NEWCASTLE	3	1	
LONDON LEE	8	2	

APPENDIX B

LIST FOR FEBRUARY, 1596

Port Towns in 12 Maritime Counties to set out ships.

S. P. D. E. Vol. 256; f. 66

		SHIPS
SOMERSETT	Bristoll and all the port townes in Somerset to find	3
CORNWALL	Ffoy and all the portes in Cornwall to finde	1
DEVON	Plymouth to find	2
	Dartmouth to find	2
DORSETT	Waymouth, Lynne, Poole and all other portes in Dorsett to finde	2
SOUTHAMPTON	Hampton, Portesmouth with the portes of Hampshire	2
CINQUE PORTS	The Cinque Portes to finde	4
ESSEX	Harwich and the portes in Essex, etc.	3
SUFFOLK	Laystoft, Sould, Dunmore Sewall, Thorpe, Alborough Orphorde, Ipswich, and other ports	2
NORFFOLK	Yarmouthe, Lynne, and the ports	2
LINCOLNE	Boston and the portes, etc.	1
YORKE	Hull and the portes, etc.	1
NORTHUMBERLAND	Newcastle and the ports in the Bishopricke	1
	Citie of London	5
		26

APPENDIX C

List for January, 1603

Cecil's schedule for voluntary contribution over whole country for ships against *Dunkirkers*.

S. P. D. E. Vol. 287; f. 8.

The Chardge	£	s.	d.
In shippinge as is sett downe 1300 £'s			
But it is thought lesse will serve and soe but	0990	0	0
In waiges	2760	14	0
In dyet	3640	0	0
In salt and other necessarie provisions	0444	10	0
Ffor carryadge Stowidge and other extraordinaryes	0400	0	0
Sum total of the chardge	8235	4	0

Cyties and Townes that are Counties

	£	s.	d.
Exon	200	0	0
Bristolle	200	0	0
Gloucester	066	13	4
Salisbury	050	0	0
Worcester	040	0	0
Towne and Countie of Poole	026	13	4

£	s.	d.
Full total: 583,	6	8

Townes in Devon

	£	s.	d.
Plymouth	200	0	0
Totnes	066	13	4
Dartmouth	046	13	4
Barnstable	040	0	0
Byddefree	013	6	8
Tyverton	033	6	8
Tavistok	026	13	4
South Molton	016	13	4
Plymton	033	6	8
Torrington	033	6	8
Axminster	013	6	8

(In toto uppon these Townes £543, 6 s, 8 d.)

	£	s.	d.
The rest of the Countie of Devon	£700, 0 s, 0 d.		

In toto

£	s.	d
1243	6	8

Townes in Dorsett

	£	s.	d.		
Lyme Regis	026	13	4	In toto uppon these Townes £126, 13 s, 4 d.	In toto £ 576 s. 13 d. 4
Weymouth and Melon	066	13	4		
Dorchester	033	6	8		
The rest of the countrie				£450, 0 s, 0 d.	

Townes in Somerset

	£	s.	d.		
Bath	20	0	0	In toto uppon these Tounes £163, 6 s., 8 d.	In toto £ 823 s. 16 d. 8
Wells	13	6	8		
Taunton	50	0	0		
Chard	26	13	4		
Brydgwater	16	13	4		
Axminster	10	0	0		
Ilmster	6	13	4		
Burnton	6	13	4		
Evell	6	13	4		
Dunster on Minead	6	13	4		
The rest of that countie				£660, 10 s, 0 d.	

Townes in Cornewall

	£	s.	d.		
Galt Ashe	26	13	4	In toto uppon these Townes £186, 13 s., 4 d.	In toto £ 711 s. 13 d. 4
Ffowey	26	13	4		
Trevoree	40	0	0		
Peryn	16	13	4		
St. Ives	13	6	8		
Padstowe	16	13	4		
Launson	16	13	4		
Bodman	16	13	4		
Mylbrooke	13	6	8		
The rest of that Conntrie				£525, 0 s., 0 d.	

Sheres

	£	s.	d.
Wiltes with Marleborowe	525	0	0
Southampton with his Townes and the Isle of Wight	832	10	0
Cink Portes in Sussex	150	0	0
Sussex besides the Cinq Ports with his Townes	532	0	0
Surrey with his Townes	126	13	4
Oxon	200	0	0
Berks	200	0	0

Under the Lord President for the Marches of Wales.

	£.	s.	d.
Gloucester	537	0	0
Pembrooke	250	0	0
Carmarden	160	0	0
Glamorgan	200	0	0
Monmouth	150	0	0
Herefford	250	0	0
Worcester (three besides the Cyty of Worcester)	240	0	0
Shropshre (with Shrewsbury and Ludton)	340	0	0
The total of the Countries, Cyties and Townes I take to be	8732	0	0

APPENDIX D

LONDONERS REFUSING TO PAY FOR SETTING OUT OF 12 SHIPS

Lansdowne MSS. No. 81; f. 31 August, 1596.

"The names of suche gentlemen and others inhabitinge within the cittie of London and liberties thereof and exempt places, that refuse to paye towardes the setting furth of twelve shippes and twoo pynnaces for her Majesties necessary service alledging the payment of their Subsidie to her Majestie elsewhere whereuppon their howses are respectivelie valued according to the worth of their yerely rente, and your honorable direccons, Beseeching your Lordships to give my Lord Maior absolute and effectual order for the speedye collecion thereof."

Summary according to wards of the names of the individuals with house value.

	NAMES	HOUSE VALUES
Aldrichgate warde	33	40 Marks; £25 to £3
Algate warde	8	£40 to £5
Bisshoppegate	16	£100 to £10
Broadstreet warde	6	£30 to £8
Castlebaynard ward	9	£25 to £6
Cheap warde	3	£20 to £8
Cripplegate within	7	£30 to £5
Cripplegate without	16	£26 to £6
Coleman Street	5	£40 to £5
Cordweyn Street warde	3	100 Mks to £8
Dowgate warde	3	£13 to £10
Ffaringdon ward within	16	£30 to £3
Ffaringdon ward without	48	£40 to £5
St. Bartholmewes parish	15	£40 to £4
Lymestreet warde	2	£13 to £10
Langborne warde	4	£60 to £4
Portsoken Ward	5	£30 to £8
Queenehith Ward	5	£10 to £5
Tower Ward	11	£40 to £3
Vintry Ward	1	£6
Wallbrooke Ward	1	£20

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3. *Remembrancia.* (Vol. I, II, III)
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